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CONVENTION ISSUE



A Year of Victory

Excerpts from the Convention Address of
PRESIDENT JOSEPH F. LANDIS

WE refer to this as a year of victory. We have known the greatest growth in the history of the organization, the greatest number of substantial new locals that the AFT has ever chartered in any single year. We have chartered more state federations than we have ever chartered in any single year. We have chartered more new college locals than we have for a number of years.

Growth in AFT Membership

The number of new members this year exceeds 10,000. When this speaker had the privilege of addressing his first convention he expressed the hope that we might some day arrive at a membership of 100,000 and expressed the thought that when that day arrived the AFT would shake and shape American educational policy. I am proud to report to you that we have already exceeded half that number. Our membership now exceeds 50,000, but despite that limited membership we are already challenging the educational thinking of America. Especially in the field of federal and state legislation we are making an impact upon the educational thinking and the educational program of America.

AFT Delegates at Conference On Juvenile Delinquency

At the juvenile delinquency conference called by Tom Clark, attorney general of the United States, your four AFT representatives were the only classroom teachers of America in the schools division of that great conference. The schools division drafted a most excellent report for the solution of some of the problems of juvenile delinquency. All the proposals would involve

enormous expenditure and all of them we could endorse wholeheartedly. The amazing thing was that that group of top-ranking educators, in their report for the schools division, did not intend to insert one single word indicating that American public education is so jeopardized today by the limited financial support that it receives that it cannot meet even the normal educational needs of American youth; and they were endorsing a program that would enormously increase the national expenditure for education and taking no cognizance of the fact that additional funds were necessary to carry out that program.

I am proud to report to you that your four representatives in that conference were able to secure the endorsement by the schools division of the inclusion of a statement calling attention to the fact that American public education must receive augmented financial support if it is to maintain its normal functions, but that if expanded programs to prevent juvenile delinquency are to be carried out, we must have an enormously expanded financial support of education.

The schools division of the conference also took a definite stand on federal aid, largely, in my judgment, because of the action of your four representatives. When the conference began to degenerate into a quibble over the technicalities of different types of bills, it was the privilege of your chairman to present to the group this thought: that it was not the business of that conference to quibble over the technicalities of legislation; that, as we saw it, it was the duty of every individual in that conference to support the type of federal aid legislation which in his judgment would be in the best interests of American children; and that the duty of the schools division was to endorse the general principle that federal aid to education was imperative.

I am happy to report to you that the schools division endorsed the principle of federal aid, and that the general conference on juvenile delinquency, without a single dissenting vote, endorsed

(Continued on page 7)

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PRESIDENT TRUMAN SENDS GREETINGS

THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington

July 23, 1947

Dear Mr. Kuenzli:

I am glad for the opportunity again to send cordial greetings to the American Federation of Teachers in convention assembled at Boston. May your convention be successful in rallying members of your organization for "Strengthening Education for National and World Security."

Never before has our Nation had a greater opportunity to demonstrate to the world that the enlightened practice of real democracy in all human relations is the only practical method by which peace and prosperity may be assured. By instilling in the hearts and minds of all children and youth a deeper sense of our dependence one upon another, schools and colleges provide the broad foundations for cooperative action in all aspects of our common life whether social, political, or economic in character.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Harry Truman

Significant Decisions Made At AFT Convention in Boston

IN all the 31-year history of the American Federation of Teachers none of its conventions has ever had focused upon it so strongly the attention of the nation as did the last convention, held in Boston, August 18-22, 1947. For on the decisions made by the delegates at this convention would be based the AFT policies on two important problems of great interest to many persons and groups throughout the country.

AFT No-Strike Policy Evokes Vigorous Discussion

First, there was the necessity of determining whether the AFT should continue to maintain its no-strike policy. Although the delegates realized that only under unusual circumstances, after the failure of all other methods of obtaining fair treatment for teachers and adequate educational opportunities for children, would teachers consider using the strike, yet there was a strong belief among the delegates that teachers should not be denied any of the rights which should be theirs as citizens of the United States. It was pointed out, however, that in a number of states laws have been enacted making it illegal for teachers to belong to any organization which maintains the right to strike. Similar restrictions have been placed upon the teachers of Washington, D.C., the Canal Zone, and Alaska. Many delegates expressed the opinion that vigorous efforts should be made to repeal such restrictive legislation. After thorough discussion of what the AFT policy on teachers' strikes should be, the convention adopted the resolution found on page 45.

AFT Position on Federal Aid Clarified

Then there was the problem of clarifying the AFT position on federal aid for schools and for services to children. Because of the general desire to make entirely clear exactly what types of aid and services the AFT should seek to have included in federal aid legislation, a large part of the convention program was devoted to explanation and discussion of this problem.

The subject was first discussed in the address made by President Joseph F. Landis at the opening session Monday morning, following the ad-

dresses of welcome. On Monday afternoon, Dr. Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman of the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction, devoted the main part of his report to the Commission's statement on federal aid. Following his report there was further discussion of the subject by Dr. John Childs, a member of the Commission. On Monday evening most of the delegates attended an open meeting at which Dr. Reeves answered questions concerning the Commission's position on federal aid. At this meeting there was ample opportunity for everyone to obtain full information concerning the recommendations made by the Commission. In the report made by Selma Borchardt, AFT's Washington representative, at the Tuesday afternoon session, federal aid was again one of the major topics.

To the legislative committee, which included members holding a wide variety of opinions, fell the task of determining, as far as possible, which principles would receive the approval of the majority and of embodying these principles in a statement to be presented to the convention for discussion and action. So difficult was this task that it could not be completed until Friday morning, although the committee worked day and night, and even had to miss some of the convention sessions in order to finish the work assigned to it. At about 10:00 Friday morning the discussion on federal aid began, and it continued without pause until about 2:30 in the afternoon. Full opportunity was provided for the delegates to express their views and to offer their suggestions concerning the principles which they thought the AFT should support.

The delegates had little difficulty in reaching an agreement concerning the use of federal funds for *public schools*. Nor was there much disagreement concerning the granting of federal funds to provide *some* services for *all* children, regardless of the type of school attended. The essential difficulty lay in determining just *which* services should be included among those to be provided for *all* children. After prolonged and frank discussion it was finally voted that the AFT should support federal aid for the following services, to

be provided for *all* children, whether they attended public or non-public schools: (1) health services; (2) recreation services; (3) school lunches; (4) public library service; (5) aid for needy youth, particularly on the secondary school level, to enable them to continue in school; (6) scholarships to assist the able to continue education beyond the secondary school level.

The most controversial point was whether transportation should be included among the services for which federal funds should be granted for *all* children. On this point, and also on the question of providing aid for needy youth to continue in school, a roll call vote was taken. In the final decision, the vote was 402 to 340 *against* providing transportation, and 434 to 304 *for* providing aid to enable needy students to continue attending school.

For a complete statement of the federal aid principles adopted by the convention, see pages 30 and 31.

Convention Highlights

Other major parts of the convention program, listed in the order in which they occurred, were:

1. The Workers' Education Program, under the chairmanship of AFT Vice-President John Connors, director of the Workers Education Bureau, AFL. Speakers on the program were: Hilda Smith, chairman and executive of the Committee for the Extension of Labor Education; Abraham Kalish, director of the workers' education program conducted under the auspices of the Boston Public Library; AFT Vice-President Arthur Elder, director of the Workers Educational Service, University of Michigan Extension Division, and director of the Labor Education Service of the U.S. Department of Labor; Nelson Cruikshank, director of Social Security, American Federation of Labor.

2. The report of AFT Secretary-Treasurer Irvin R. Kuenzli. (See pages 9 to 15 for a summary of his report.)

3. The international relations dinner. After an introductory speech by AFT Vice-President Selma Borchardt, chairman of the AFT committee on international relations, there were addresses by special guests: J. W. Lawton, president of the National Union of Teachers of England and



● Mary Buckner, of Local 27, Washington, D.C., addresses the group attending the intercultural relations luncheon.

Wales, outlined the gains made by that organization and the provisions of the new educational program in Britain; Nelson Cruikshank, AFL representative at various UNESCO meetings, discussed the organization and work of UNESCO and of the U. S. Commission on UNESCO; Dr. George S. Counts, of Teachers College, Columbia University, formerly AFT president, described the Soviet educational system of today; Dr. Sandven, of the University of Oslo, Norway, talked of the friendly relations existing between his country and ours and of the part played by the teachers of Norway during the Nazi regime; Joan Burbidge, assistant educational officer of the British Embassy, extended greetings to the AFT.

4. The panel on "The AFT in Action throughout the Nation." On this panel selected speakers described their respective programs of action in relation to special problems and significant accomplishments: Louis Greenberg spoke for Connecticut; V. C. Cripe, for Indiana; Edward Melucci, for Rhode Island; Herrick Roth, for Colorado; John Fewkes, for Illinois; Elmer Miller, for the state of Washington; Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz, for New York; Pat Kirwan, for Kentucky.

5. The intercultural relations luncheon, at which Layle Lane, chairman of the AFT Committee on Cultural Minorities (now the Committee on Democratic Human Relations), presided. After an address by Edwin H. Miner, Associate Commissioner, U.S. Office of Education, there was a panel discussion on successful programs of intercultural relations. Participants were: Evelyn Dickey, Wilmington, Del.; Natalie Ousley, Gary, Ind.; Mary Buckner, Washington, D.C.; and Frances Comfort, Detroit, Mich. Mr. Rotenberg, Field Secretary of the Jewish Labor Committee, discussed briefly the accomplishments of unions in the field of inter-faith, inter-racial, and intercultural relations. His talk was followed by the singing of "Songs of Friendship," by their composer, Irving Caesar—a fitting climax to a stimulating program.

Recreational Activities

Since no convention held in Boston would be complete without a visit to the numerous places of historical interest in that area, one afternoon session was set aside for that purpose. There was also a boat trip to Nantasket one evening.

Among the social affairs was the tea sponsored by the Educational Secretaries' Union of Chicago.

One of the "extra-curricular" activities was a dinner attended by the convention delegates who were "alumni" of the AFT Vacation Workshop held at Madison during the last three summers. These delegates declared that the convention meant far more to them because of their attendance at the Workshop.

Resolutions and Committee Reports

Five sessions were devoted to the most important part of the convention: the consideration of

resolutions and reports submitted by the various convention committees. A full account of the action taken at these sessions can be found on pages 30 to 47 of this issue.

Since the extra session on Thursday evening and the long sessions on Friday made it possible for the convention to act on almost all the resolutions and recommendations, there was little unfinished business to turn over to the Executive Council when the convention adjourned at 5:30 Friday afternoon.

The New AFT Executive Council

The new Executive Council is composed of the following members, who were elected by the convention delegates:

Joseph F. Landis, Cleveland, *President*

Vice-Presidents

Carl Benson, Toledo, O.

Selma Borchardt, Washington, D.C.

Mary Cadigan, Boston, Mass.

John Eklund, Denver, Colo.

Arthur Elder, Detroit, Mich.

Irving Fullington, Birmingham, Ala.

Meyer Halushka, Chicago, Ill.

Lettisha Henderson, St. Paul, Minn.

E. Robert Leach, Fort Wayne, Ind.

Elmer Miller, Seattle, Wash.

Mary Moulton, Kansas City, Mo.

Natalie Ousley, Gary, Ind.

Rebecca Simonson, New York, N.Y.

Gerald Y. Smith, Atlanta, Ga.

E. Max Wales, La Salle, Ill.

A report of the post-convention meeting of the Executive Council will be published in the November issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.



THE EDUCATIONAL
SECRETARIES, LOCAL
224, CHICAGO, GIVE
A TEA FOR THE CON-
VENTION DELEGATES.

A Year of Victory

Excerpts from the Convention Address of
PRESIDENT JOSEPH F. LANDIS

(Continued from page 2)

both of the conclusions that were recommended and striven for by your representatives.

Gains through State Legislation

Very briefly I shall refer to a few accomplishments in state legislatures. The state of California, by constitutional provision, has now made the needs of the schools a first lien upon the revenues of the state. California is saying to the nation that it believes that the educational welfare of its youth is the paramount issue confronting the state, and I recommend that in other states we strive for the enactment of that type of legislation, protecting and guaranteeing the educational welfare of the youth.

In the state of Louisiana notable things happened, largely as the result of the birth of the Louisiana Federation of Teachers, which is as yet less than two years old. The state director of education, Mr. Coxe, appeared before the legislative groups at the general session of their legislature a year ago, indicating that \$3,000,000 was adequate to meet the needs of Louisiana's schools. The teachers' union entered the battle through the Louisiana Federation of Labor and convinced those same people that \$5,000,000 annually was the smallest amount that could be regarded as adequate for 1946-48. The \$5,000,000 was granted and the state of Louisiana during the past year has granted to its schools two and a half times as much as it had ever granted before in any single year.

I am happy to report that because of the insistence of the teachers' union movement of that state, a special session of the legislature was called. That special session immediately granted \$2,500,000 additional for the remainder of that school year and \$7,500,000 additional for the school year 1947-1948.

This means that the Louisiana legislature voted a total increase of \$20,000,000 in the amount of state funds provided for education for 1946-48. This increase alone is larger than the entire

amount of state aid provided during the preceding twenty years by the state of Louisiana.

In the state of Washington notable gains were made. You may recall that two years ago the Washington Education Association introduced a teachers' pension act which provided for a pension of \$75 a month. Although the governor and the Washington State Federation of Teachers were recommending a pension of \$100 a month, the Washington Education Association and the State Department of Education refused to support a measure which would provide that amount. Instead they introduced a bill which would provide only \$75 a month. I am happy and proud to report that the Washington State Federation of Teachers refused to compromise the welfare of their teachers. They opposed the bill. The governor, too, considered the amount inadequate and vetoed the bill.

He then appointed an advisory committee on teacher retirement. The Washington State Federation of Teachers was represented on the committee, which worked out a bill providing a pension of \$100 a month after 30 years of service and permitting teachers also to build up through their own payments an annuity which could reach approximately \$75 a month in addition to the pension. This bill bearing the union trade mark was passed and signed by the governor, giving Washington one of the best pension laws in the country.

The state of Indiana also made notable gains, due largely to the influence and effective work of Miss Ann Maloney, who was appointed legislative representative for the Indiana teachers' unions. She, of course, was aided by Representative Hawbaker, a member of the lower house who honors us by working with the AFL as an organizer in the teaching field. They established a state-wide salary schedule for teachers, with salaries ranging from a minimum of \$2400 for teachers having a bachelor's degree to a maximum of \$3600 for teachers having a master's degree.

You may remember some notable gains were made in the Empire State. It is also true that some terrific reverses were experienced in that same state. The legislature granted some immediate upward adjustment of salary schedules. However, the newly enacted school bill has placed a very desirable salary schedule upon the basis of merit rating.

Opposition to Basing Salaries on Rating

The AFT has for years opposed the principle of rating teachers as a condition of salary advancement. There is no objective standard yet devised whereby any given group of administrators will rate any given teacher the same. Until such objectivity be attained any merit rating scheme means that the teacher must curry favor with the administrator or suffer financial loss. These rating proposals drive the able, independent, courageous teachers out of the profession and encourage retention of those who lack sufficient courage and initiative to stand up for what is right. We believe it is the duty of the AFT and its state and local units to oppose vigorously this wave of attempting to destroy salary schedules through merit rating proposals and various other rating schemes. It is a real danger confronting American public education.

Gains in Rhode Island and Connecticut

We are happy to report that remarkable gains in our family were made in the adjacent states of Rhode Island and Connecticut. A year ago there was not a single local in the state of Rhode Island. Today more than half of the classroom teachers of that state are in the family of the AFT. That record has never been equaled by any other state in this nation, and we honor the smallest state in the union for setting the pace in rapid development of the teacher union movement.

The growth in Connecticut was almost as remarkable, but not as large in percentage of the total number of teachers in the state.

Both states were able to secure greatly augmented state aid because of the activity of the newly born state federations of teachers, supplemented and assisted by the labor movement in those states; for when our friend, the AFL, in its various segments, assures us they will stand by and help, they mean what they say and they can deliver.

Serious Problems Facing Convention

Let us now turn quickly to some of the problems that will confront our convention and that confront and challenge the thinking of our group. We have already made reference to the rating system. On the question of compulsory training in peacetime, I am happy to report to you that your Executive Council has been vigilant in opposing that type of legislation and that none has yet been enacted. That battle is not over, however, because the position of our President will make a battle imminent for some time on that issue.

On the problem of federal aid I can report that your Executive Council, mandated as to its position by the last AFT convention, appeared before the Senate subcommittee last September, pleading for the support of these three general principles which were endorsed by the last convention:

1. Whatever legislation be enacted, it is paramount that the amount of the allocation be adequate in amount fully to meet the needs of all American youth.
2. Allocations for teachers' salaries must be substantial, and a definite proviso that salary allocations be used for public school teachers only must be included.
3. In services to needy youth, to make education possible and meaningful, those services should be extended on the basis of need, irrespective of race, creed, color, or type of school attendance.

This convention will be faced with some very serious problems. One is our no-strike policy; another is federal aid. Whatever your decision may be, I urge that you make it in the interest of the welfare of American youth, knowing that if we shut the door to federal aid in the next few years we are condemning a large segment of American youth to lives of ignorance or semi-ignorance.

In the deliberations of the convention may you be constantly guided by the principle of the welfare of American youth and the welfare of the teachers of this nation. Only when the welfare of the teachers is advanced can the welfare of the youth of this nation be fully protected.

We conclude in the earnest hope that out of the deliberations of this body may come such action as will make the AFT increasingly a power in the building of better education for better Americans in the better world to come.

The Union in Action In 1947

Excerpts from the Convention Address of
SECRETARY-TREASURER
IRVING R. KUENZLI

AT the 1946 convention in St. Paul I had the pleasure of reporting that the 1945-46 school year was the greatest year of organizational progress in AFT history up to that time. I am happy to report that this progress not only has continued but has been even greater during the past year.

It is a distinct pleasure to report that 86 new locals and five new state federations were chartered during the fiscal year 1946-47 and that one additional local was chartered just after the fiscal year closed. In addition to the 86 new locals, seven locals were organized by reinstatement. These seven locals are not merely organizations which passed temporarily into bad standing financially, but groups which were reorganized as practically new locals.

In the number of new locals chartered, Colorado ranks first with twelve locals, Louisiana second with nine locals, Illinois third with eight locals, and Ohio fourth with seven locals. Minnesota and Rhode Island tie for fifth place with six new locals each.

In the state of Indiana, where most of the larger cities and towns are already organized, five new locals were chartered. Four locals were chartered in the state of Pennsylvania. Three locals were chartered in Michigan, Wisconsin, and New Jersey. In each of the following states two new locals were chartered: California, Connecticut, Georgia, Kentucky, and Washington. One new local was chartered in each of the following states: Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts, Missouri, Montana, Oklahoma, New York, South Dakota, Tennessee, and Wyoming.

Large Net Gain in Membership

An outstanding phase of the progress of the past year is the large net gain in membership despite the large turnover of teachers and despite the fact that thousands of our members have left the profession. The monthly per capita report for May 1947, which is the last report

issued during the fiscal year, showed a net gain in membership of nearly 7,000 members as compared with the corresponding report of one year ago. Since this net gain is considerably less than the total gain, it is estimated that the organization has gained nearly 10,000 members during the 1946-47 fiscal year. This is one of the largest gains in membership in white collar unions in the history of organized labor in the United States.

Locals in Majority of Larger Cities

There are now AFT locals in all of the twenty-five largest cities of the nation with the exception of one—Houston, Texas. There are also locals in approximately two-thirds of the cities over 100,000. There are nearly 300 locals in cities and towns under 100,000 population. These data indicate that the field of organizing locals in larger cities is rapidly being restricted and that the progress of the organization must come largely from organizing smaller towns and cities and from building membership in cities where locals have already been established. In the states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, locals have already been established in all but a few of the larger cities and towns. In Illinois, locals have now been chartered in all of the cities over 25,000 with the exception of Elgin and Aurora. More than 50% of the teachers in Illinois outside of small towns and rural districts are now members of the AFT. If all the states were organized in this same proportion, the membership of the national organization would be approximately a quarter of a million.

Outstanding Areas of Progress

In total membership, Illinois ranks first, Ohio second, New York third, Michigan fourth, Minnesota fifth, Indiana sixth, New Jersey



seventh, Georgia eighth, California ninth, and Pennsylvania tenth. Ranked according to size, Chicago Local 1 is first, New York Local 2 is second, Detroit Local 231 is third, Cleveland Local 279 is fourth, and Atlanta Local 89 is fifth.

In the total number of locals, the first ten states rank as follows: Illinois is first with 39; Ohio second with 32; Indiana third with 30; Michigan fourth with 21, Minnesota fifth with 20, New Jersey sixth with 19, and Wisconsin seventh with 18. Colorado and New York rank eighth with 17 each, and Louisiana is next with 15 locals.

It is interesting to note that there are now more than 100 locals in the three states of Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana. In the state of Rhode Island there was not a single AFT local a year ago. Today there are six locals representing a majority of the teachers in the state. In Louisiana, where there were only three locals two years ago, there were 15 locals at the end of the fiscal year and two additional locals have been chartered since the end of the fiscal year. In Connecticut, where there was not a single public school local three years ago, there are now four public school locals and one university local. The four public school locals already represent a substantial percentage of the teachers of the state. The local in New Britain, Connecticut, which was chartered in April 1946, already has a membership of approximately 300.

Among the large cities, Atlanta ranks first, Chicago second, and Cleveland third in the percentage of teachers organized. If all the teachers of the nation were organized in the same proportion as Atlanta, Cleveland, and Chicago, the membership of the AFT would be more than half a million.

Assistance to State Federations

In recent years increasing emphasis has been placed on the importance of state federations. For several years the Executive Council has made a practice of subsidizing state federations financially for organization purposes. The Executive Council, during the past year, greatly increased the allocations to state organizations and placed a greater responsibility on the state federations.

The growth of state federations has been one of the greatest areas of progress in the AFT. In 1934—thirteen years ago—the first permanent state federation was organized in Ohio. Today

there are twenty-one state federations. Of these, five have been organized during the past year in the following states: Connecticut, Kentucky, Missouri, Montana, and Rhode Island.

AFL Support of AFT Organization Program

The American Federation of Labor has given excellent support during the past year to the AFT organization program. One full-time organizer on the AFL staff has been placed at the disposal of the AFT on practically a full-time basis and several others on a part-time basis.

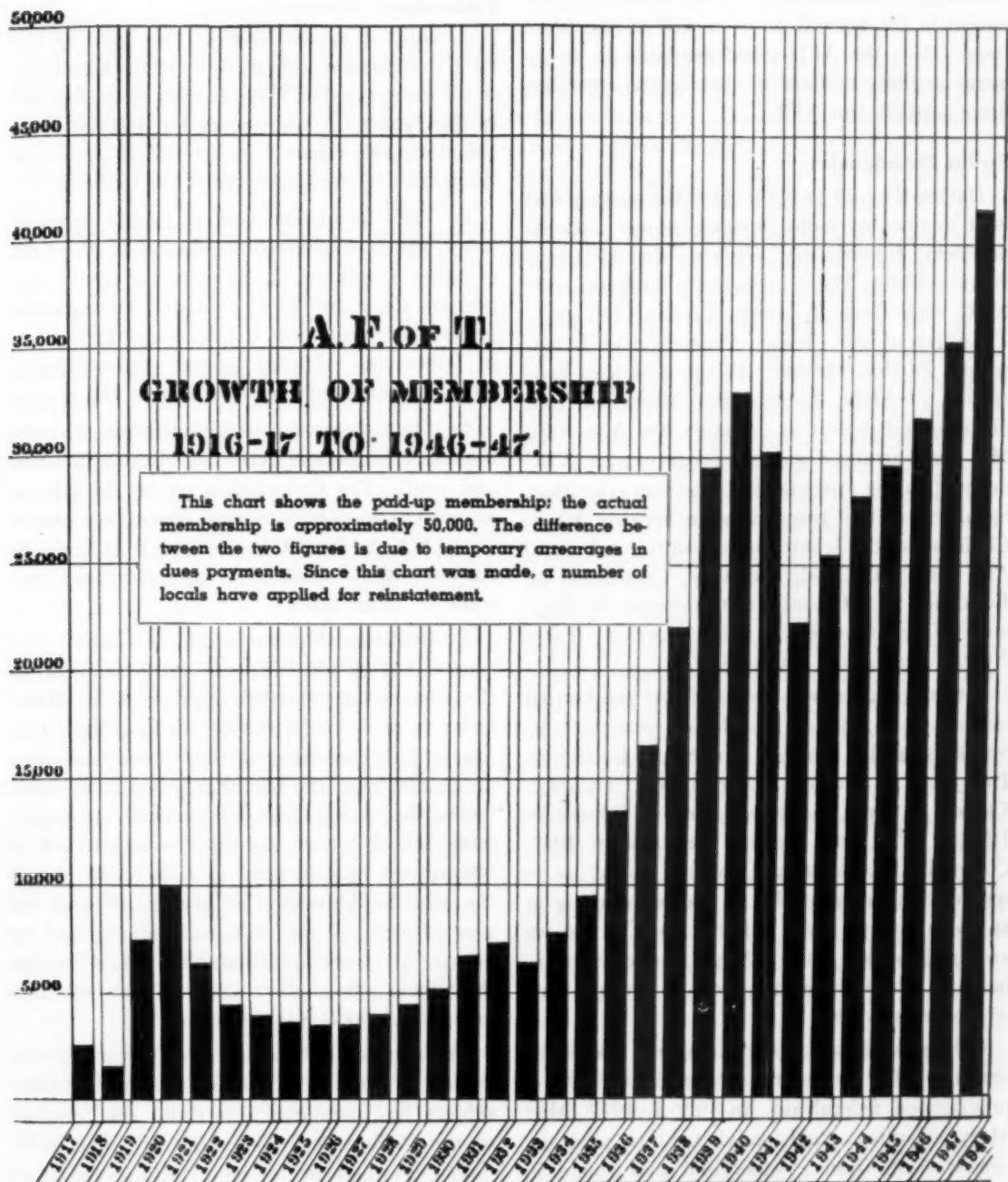
The Southern representative of the AFL, George Googe, has employed two organizers to organize teachers in the Southern states. In connection with the Southern organization drive of the AFL several thousand dollars have been granted by the AFL to match AFT funds. Full-time field representatives have been employed in Louisiana and Kentucky through this co-operative program.

In order to render as much help as possible in solving the school crisis and in improving American education, the AFL has spent more than twice as much assisting the AFT during the past year as the total amount of per capita paid to the AFL by the AFT.

AFL Publicity Services

The AFL and its affiliated bodies have given the AFT excellent support during the past year in the field of publicity and public relations. The *AFL Weekly News Service* has carried numerous stories about the AFT program of action. These have been widely reprinted throughout the nation. These press stories have been especially valuable in meeting the attacks of non-union teachers' organizations upon the AFT. Several of these stories from the AFL clip sheet were reprinted and made available to AFT locals and other unions. Philip Pearl, publicity director for the AFL, has given generously of his personal time and of the available space in the AFL news sheet in assisting to implement the AFT program.

The *American Federationist*, official journal of the AFL, has also given generous space to the AFT. President Landis wrote an article entitled "Angry Americans" for the December 1946 issue. This article, which describes the crisis in American education, attracted wide attention. Thousands of reprints have been distributed by the national office. After the NEA attack on teachers' unions on January 1, 1947, the managing editor



THIS CHART, PREPARED BY BLANCHE BRYANT, OF THE NATIONAL OFFICE, PRESENTS AN ENCOURAGING PICTURE OF THE GROWTH OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS IN RECENT YEARS.

of the *Federationist* asked me to prepare an article describing the company union complexion of non-union organizations. The AFL gave out a press release on the article before the publication date and it was widely printed throughout the nation in the general press as well as the labor press. Thus the AFL made available to us its heavy artillery to assist in meeting the organized drive against the AFT.

Radio Broadcasts

During the past year the AFT has participated in a number of radio broadcasts over national networks. Immediately following the AFL convention Philip Pearl arranged a program over NBC with General Joseph Keenan, Secretary-Treasurer of the Chicago Federation of Labor, Arnold Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and myself as speakers. On March 30 Mr. Pearl arranged another program over NBC devoted to the crisis facing American education. Speakers on this program were Senator Aiken, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Federal Aid; Paul H. Good, Secretary, Committee on Education, U.S. Chamber of Commerce; W. Raymond Ogg, representing the American Farm Bureau Federation; and myself.

A third program was arranged over the Mutual network, to discuss teachers' organizations. Speakers on this program were Selma Borchardt, Dr. John K. Norton of Columbia University, Claude L. Kulp, Superintendent of Schools in Ithaca, N.Y., and myself. In January 1947, Columbia Broadcasting Company asked us to secure as a radio speaker a teacher working at an extra job to make a living. In Chicago we arranged to have Carl J. Megel, an active member of Local 1, broadcast from a bowling alley which he managed.

Columbia Broadcasting Company asked the national office to secure another speaker for a program on federal aid, on July 5, 1947. Miss Mary Moulton participated in this program, broadcasting from a supervised playground in Chicago. Other speakers on this program were Thomas Boushall, President of the Bank of Virginia, Mrs. Pearl Wanamaker, President of the NEA, and Miss Grace Bosseau, Past President of the DAR.

In addition to the programs over national networks many AFT locals have arranged local and regional broadcasts on school problems.

The AFT has been on the air during the past year far more than at any time in the history of the organization.

The AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction

A word of appreciation of the work of the AFT Commission and especially of the leadership of the chairman, Dr. Floyd Reeves, is appropriate in this report. In addition to Dr. Reeves' more comprehensive report I should like to emphasize the following major activities of the Commission:

1. The Commission took the lead in opposing hasty and ill-considered legislation in the field of universal military conscription for youth. The position taken by the Commission subsequently became the position of the American Federation of Labor and of other groups representing a large percentage of the population of the nation.
2. The Commission took the lead in arousing interest in health and welfare services for children and youth. The Commission set out to salvage as much as possible of the best educational phases of the N.Y.A., the C.C.C., and the W.P.A. Under various bills considerable progress has been made in these fields.
3. Realizing that immediate enactment of a general federal aid bill was next to impossible, the Commission initiated a program of stimulating interest in the schools on local and state levels. This program of the Commission was predicated upon the fact that the growing crisis facing the schools was due primarily to inadequate school finance and that the lack of school finance was due, in turn, to lack of interest in the schools. Through the labor press and the general press, in the AFL conventions, and by means of communications to labor groups throughout the nation, the critical situation facing the schools was publicized.

The service of President Landis in addressing audiences throughout the nation on the same subject has paralleled splendidly the program of the Commission. The radio programs mentioned elsewhere in this report also served as an implementation of the Commission's program. This over-all program of the Commission has had a tremendous impact on public opinion in awakening a new and fuller appreciation of the vital services rendered by teachers and in securing better salaries.

4. The Commission, more than any other educational group in America, resolved the conflict-

ing issues in federal aid to education and established an area of compromise which is the most likely basis—if not the only basis—on which a federal aid program can be enacted. This general point of view is set forth in a pamphlet recently published by the Commission.

5. Culminating its program of awakening the public at local and state levels to the dire needs of the schools, the Commission prepared for publication an over-all book on American education emphasizing the need for more adequate financial support of the schools. The Commission authorized publication of this book under the name of Dr. Reeves as chairman, Dr. Kirkendall as research specialist, and myself as secretary of the Commission.

Salaries Based on Rating— A Threat to American Education

In my report to the 1946 convention in St. Paul, I spoke at some length about one of the most serious threats to democracy in education in the history of the American school system, i.e., the proposal, which is now gaining national proportions, that teachers' salaries should be based on the score which teachers make on rating schemes. This plan of determining salaries is falsely called a "merit system" although the ultimate result of such a system would be the very opposite of a true merit system.

This proposal is nothing new in American education since it has been smouldering for the last decade and occasionally breaking out into active flame. When the Foundation Program of state support was enacted in Ohio in 1934 an attempt was made to include in the legislation a statewide rating system as a basis for determining salaries. The Ohio Federation of Teachers put up a vigorous battle against this legislation and, with the support of the Ohio State Federation of Labor, was able to defeat the proposal. Had this proposal been enacted into legislation, millions of dollars would have been denied to deserving teachers of Ohio, and many millions would have gone to less deserving teachers with political ability and a capacity for "bootlicking."

My report last year called attention to the fact that a statewide rating system had been adopted in the State of Delaware. During the present year, the State of New York has been the scene of a vigorous battle over the proposal to base salaries on rating. Despite emphatic protests from the AFT locals in New York and other

teachers' organizations, the legislature passed a law requiring that salary increments beyond a certain point in the salary schedule be based on a rating system.

A similar bill was introduced in the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania but was killed before the legislature adjourned. The rating plan was also proposed again in Ohio by the Ohio Chamber of Commerce. The proposal was also made in the Indiana legislature but in both Ohio and Indiana our locals succeeded in defeating the plan before it advanced very far up the legislative ladder.

In some states an attack on teacher tenure accompanied the proposal to base salaries on rating. The Ohio Chamber of Commerce, for instance, proposed a tripartite program: (1) eliminate the teacher tenure law; (2) base salaries on a statewide rating system; and (3) re-examine the amount of funds needed for state support. It does not require any economic wizard to know that, if tenure could be eliminated and salaries based on rating, the need for state distributive funds would be considerably less.

In several other states, programs of organized industrial groups, similar to that of the Ohio Chamber of Commerce—though less boldly promoted—reared their serpentine heads, threatening to strike. To meet these threats to the professional welfare of the teachers of the nation, the Permanent Education Committee of the American Federation of Labor met at AFL headquarters in Washington on March 5, 1947. Dr. John Studebaker, U.S. Commissioner of Education, was invited to attend the meeting to give information regarding current educational problems. During the meeting we asked Dr. Studebaker what he thought about the proposal to base teachers' salaries on a rating scale. Dr. Studebaker, in one of the most impressive and persuasive arguments I have ever heard on this subject, stated that he was one of the first superintendents to advocate the single salary schedule but that he is opposed to the principle of basing salaries on rating systems. Dr. Studebaker stated that he had always recognized that some teachers are better than others but that no system had ever been devised to determine *how many dollars* one teacher is better than another.

Philip Pearl, AFL Publicity Director, attended the meeting and assisted in drafting a press release condemning the program of certain Chambers of Commerce and other industrial groups to wipe out tenure laws and base salaries on rating.

This statement, which was printed widely in the labor press and the general press, served as a powerful weapon of AFT and AFL groups in combating the scheme to cut school costs by promoting only those teachers who make a certain score on a rating scale.

If competent and conscientious teachers, who are professional educators rather than politicians in their outlook, are to be saved from the worst kind of political exploitation, these laws, which require that salaries be based on rating, must be eliminated.

Defending the Freedom of Teachers

During the past year the national organization has given assistance in several tenure cases. Financial assistance was given to the West Suburban Local 571 to fight in court the battles of several teachers who were dismissed for getting married. This case was ruled out of court on a technicality in legal procedure and is still in the status of prosecution. This local fight in Cicero, Illinois, is a national problem, since dismissal for marriage is still a common practice in many parts of the nation.

The national organization also gave financial assistance in protecting two teachers against whom unsubstantiated charges of subversive teaching had been brought. It is by no means the purpose of the AFT to defend real enemies of American democracy within the borders of the United States. The practice, however, of charging every broadminded and liberal teacher with subversive teaching, and thus restricting American education to reactionary philosophy, shakes the very foundation of a democratic society.

Financial assistance was also given in the tenure cases in Local 858 in Westwood, Colorado, which is a suburb of Denver. A demoralized school situation and a highly political administration resulted in a student strike for which the union was wrongfully blamed, and criminal charges were brought against the superintendent and one teacher. The district was annexed to the Denver school system and the status of the teachers was doubtful. However, all of the teachers, with the exception of the administrators and one classroom teacher, were employed by the Denver school system. This case, which is still in the process of prosecution, represents one of the most involved and most vigorous tenure cases in AFT history.

In Argo, Illinois, where Local 943 was char-

tered early in the past school year and where a bitter controversy existed between the teachers and the school administration, three or four teachers were threatened with dismissal for being too active in the interests of the teachers. AFT Attorney John Ligtenberg and I met with the Board and negotiated a settlement of the dispute including among other things an agreement to rehire all teachers.

In Vigo County, Indiana, near Terre Haute, several teachers were threatened with possible dismissal in the proposed annexation of a township school district to the city school system. On June 6, 1947, we arranged a meeting with officers of the local and officers of the central labor council to take action to protect the positions of these teachers. As a result of this action, all teachers have been assured of reappointment with the exception of one teacher who announced that she had been secretly married for several years—in violation of the rules of the school system. Officers of the local report that there is a possibility that this teacher may be rehired. This case is significant because there have been very few tenure victories among rural, county and village teachers in the history of American education.

The national organization also gave financial assistance to Local 500 at State College in Pennsylvania in prosecuting the case of a professor who was unjustly dismissed.

Reference was made in the 1946 convention to the tenure case of Miss Violet Eastman of Helena, Montana. Miss Eastman was dismissed because she dared to exercise her right as a citizen to run for public office. Since there is practically no tenure protection for the teachers of Montana, there was little basis on which to build a legal case for Miss Eastman. Organized labor in Montana put up a valiant battle for Miss Eastman but her case was lost in the courts because of the absence of a sound tenure law. Although this case was lost in court the final outcome of the battle was favorable to Miss Eastman, who recently was employed at the maximum salary (\$4,125.00) in Anaconda, Montana. In Anaconda the teachers are nearly 100% organized and the labor press reports that the school board in Anaconda believes that teachers' unions are an asset to the school system. I should like to express before this convention our deep appreciation of the action of the school administration in Anaconda in providing for Miss Eastman a teaching position at

the top salary.

On behalf of the national organization I wish to express to Miss Ann Maloney our appreciation for the splendid service she has rendered as Chairman of the Committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure Violations. As chairman of this important committee Miss Maloney heads the most active agency in the United States in defense of the academic freedom and tenure rights of teachers.

The AFT and International Relations

Mention should be made in this report of certain activities which indicate the widening influence of the AFT throughout the world.

In the areas of occupation and in countries which are attempting to rebuild their war-torn states on a basis of democratic education, the publications of the AFT are exerting a significant influence. The occupation forces have translated the AFT constitution and some of the AFT organization pamphlets into Japanese as a basis for establishing a democratic teachers' organization. We may take just pride in the fact that the AFT influence is thus extending democracy to thousands of teachers in the Asiatic theater of occupation.

In the European theater a number of AFT leaders have been engaged in the vital task of educational reconstruction. AFT literature has been sent to this theater also.

In the early part of the school year requests were received from teachers in Palestine for AFT literature. A group of teachers in this troubled land are interested in forming a union modeled after the AFT.

Within a single month near the end of the 1946-47 school year requests were received for AFT literature from such scattered points as India, Hawaii, and Iceland. In India a movement is on foot to set up a teachers' union modeled after the AFT. Recently one of the leaders among the teachers of India wrote as follows:

I am very grateful to you for your fraternal and prompt response to my request. It gives me very great pleasure to learn that you are linked with labour and I think it is this association which makes you strong and responsive. Your association with organized labour, wide human outlook and vigilant efforts to guard democratic rights of the American people through *The Human Relations Front* will help us a lot in moulding the Indian teachers' movement.

In Hawaii, AFL labor leaders report, a group of teachers desire to form an AFT local.

Veterans of World War II who served in Iceland and became acquainted with teachers in this land of the far north have forwarded requests to the national office for literature about the AFT.

The AFT & World Influence

Thus the AFT, which was founded in 1916 during World War I by a group of courageous and forward-looking teachers who revolted against the administrative and political control of teachers' organizations, is now exerting a world-wide influence by demonstrating a democratic classroom teachers' organization. The AFT occupies a unique position in international education and educational reconstruction, since the whole world is looking to America for a living example of democratic education—and the AFT is the only national teachers' organization with a thoroughly democratic program controlled by the classroom teachers.

This, then, is the report of the AFT in action during the school year 1946-47. The organizational progress of the international union is the greatest in AFT history; the public relations program emphasizing the needs of the schools and the need for better salaries to keep teachers in the profession has been greatly extended through press, radio, and the channels of the labor movement itself; the AFT has exerted a significant influence in international education and has influenced teachers' organizations in the far corners of the earth; through the AFL convention and through communications to state and local labor bodies throughout the nation we have enlisted the functional support of the millions of members of organized labor in the battle for better schools and more adequate educational facilities; we have been the most active teachers' organization in the nation in the fight to eliminate dictatorial and political administration and to provide democratic working conditions for teachers to the end that the schools may exemplify "democracy in education" in practice as well as in theory; we have been the most active organization, also, in defending the academic freedom and tenure of teachers so that teachers may live in an atmosphere of freedom and security and teach children in a professional climate which is free from the fear of unjust dismissal for political reasons. On many other fronts we have carried forward the battle for "democracy in education, education for democracy"—on local, state, and national levels. These are the foundations upon which to build the program of the future.

The Report of the AFT Commission On Educational Reconstruction

By DR. FLOYD W. REEVES, Chairman

IN organizing to meet the challenge of educational reconstruction in the postwar period the Executive Council of the AFT in August, 1944, appointed the Commission on Educational Reconstruction. Among the functions assigned to the Commission were those of setting forth desirable goals for American education and developing a program of action designed to assist in attaining those goals.

At the first meeting of the Commission held in Chicago shortly after it was established, three major actions were taken. First, a set of principles was tentatively adopted dealing with the relations of the federal government to education in the states, with particular attention to the problem of federal aid to education. Second, it was decided to study further the problems connected with federal aid, and to develop ways and means of securing Congressional action upon such a program. Third, it was decided to study the proposals then before the public and the Congress to enact legislation to establish peacetime compulsory military service.

At the second meeting of the Commission, held in Washington during the winter of 1944, a report was prepared and adopted opposing the establishment at that time of peacetime compulsory military service. A letter was then sent to President Roosevelt calling his attention to the action of the Commission and to the reasons for that action.

The major reasons why the Commission opposed the establishment of compulsory military service at that time were: (1) the war was still on and no one could foresee when it would end; (2) a move was under way to establish an international organization of nations to maintain the peace, and no one could foresee the form that such an organization might take, the effect that it might have upon the military needs of the nation, or the relation, if any, of compulsory

military service to an effective defense of America; and (3) it was impossible to determine the effect that the establishment of compulsory service by the United States Government might have upon the willingness of other nations to form a world organization.

The action taken by the Commission on peacetime compulsory military service received wide publicity. Insofar as we have been able to discover, this was the first such action taken by any important national educational group. It was, however, quickly followed by similar actions by all of the large and important educational associations. The actions taken by other educational groups followed closely the pattern of this Commission's report.

Now that we are entering the third year following the end of hostilities there is, I believe, need for further consideration and action by the AFT on the problem of compulsory military service. Two years have elapsed since the fighting of World War II officially ended. The world is now in a state of chaos. There is, however, a United Nations, and parts of it are functioning with some degree of effectiveness. But there is also The Atomic Bomb. And we have it. Do we now need peacetime conscription? Would the billions of dollars expended upon such a program be the best way to spend money for the defense of our nation and the welfare of the world? This Federation should, I believe, express itself upon this point, and it should do it now.

In meetings of the Commission during the early months of 1945, a definite plan was adopted for federal aid to education. On one point in this plan, the relation of federal aid to the support of non-public schools, two of the nine members of the Commission expressed a minority view; on all other elements of the plan, the Commission was united.

Following the adoption of the plan by the

● Dr. Floyd W. Reeves (extreme right), talks with Mary Cadigan, chairman of local convention committee, and President Joseph F. Landis.



Commission, representatives of the Commission appeared with representatives of the AFT and of the AFL before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor in advocacy of federal aid on a broad basis and in accordance with the general recommendations developed by the Commission. It is my opinion that these activities of the Commission have accomplished much in the way of modifying the proposals for federal aid along sound lines and in expediting the enactment of desirable legislation. We may secure federal aid next year, or we may not secure it until later. One thing is certain—there will be federal aid. When such legislation is enacted, it will have been brought about sooner, and the plan under which it operates will be better, than would have been the case had not the Commission worked long and hard upon this problem.

During the third year of the life of the Commission, attention was given to the preparation of a statement of *Federal Aid and the Crisis in American Education*. This statement reflects the most recent, and I believe the most mature, thinking of the Commission upon this important matter.

[This statement can be found on pages 18 to 21 of this issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. All the Commission's recommendations on federal aid were adopted by the convention, except that the majority of the Commission members included transportation among the services to be provided for *all* children, whereas the convention did not include that service.]

In December, 1945, the Executive Council requested the Commission to assume responsibility for the preparation of a volume for publication on *Goals for American Education*, including

deficiencies that need to be remedied and actions that need to be taken to improve the present situation. The Commission assigned the task of preparing this volume to its assistant, Lester Kirkendall, its secretary, Irvin Kuenzli, and its chairman. No limitations were placed upon the authors as to the scope of the problems to be discussed, the methods to be employed in securing needed information, or the suggestions and recommendations to be set forth as means of improving education. The authors alone will be responsible for the contents of this volume. The book, *Goals for American Education*, was planned, however, by the Commission as a whole. During the course of its development, moreover, the manuscript was reviewed twice by the entire Commission, and was twice redrafted to incorporate suggestions received from Commission members. The volume, *Goals for American Education*, is now complete and is ready for publication. How soon it can be published I am not now in a position to forecast.

As I close this report of three years of work of the Commission on Educational Reconstruction, I wish to express my sincere appreciation to the members of the Commission for the long hours that they have devoted to our work. Furthermore, on behalf of the Commission, I wish to express to you, the members and officers of the Federation, our appreciation for the support that you have given. I shall always consider it a rare privilege to have had the opportunity to cooperate with you on a project that has dealt with matters so vital to this nation, and to the world of which this nation is—and henceforth must always be—a part, during the period of the greatest crisis that this nation and the world has ever known.

FEDERAL AID AND THE CRISIS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

A Report by the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction

THIS is the testing time for America and for the institutions that shape its life.

The fortunes of war have made this country, almost against its will, the foremost power on earth. In a shattered world our material wealth, our strategic position, and our technical skill have given us a voice that can—and perhaps must—decide the course of civilization. To a great degree it will be for us to say whether individual liberty and popular rule will prevail in the Western World or give way to that so-called "new democracy" in which the state is all-powerful and one party speaks for the state.

1. The Domestic Task

We will make that historic decision in part without knowing that it is being made. For it will be implicit, first, in the success or failure to achieve, for ourselves, a society in which men enjoy economic security without being forced to pay for it in personal freedom. We will en-

courage despotism abroad unless we demonstrate to the world that we can provide our own people with bread, jobs, health, and education, and, at the same time, deepen our belief in those principles on which democratic government is based; the personal worth of every human being; the traditional freedoms laid down in the Bill of Rights; equality before the law, with no distinctions of class, creed, or color; the rule of law, with no toleration of job rule, official caprice, or undercover police terror; and public morality as expressed in the concepts that a public office is a public trust.

More obviously we will make the critical choice between a free world and tyranny in the framing of our diplomacy and in the course of our conduct abroad. If we fail to build a just peace, based on the maximum degree of freedom for all peoples, we invite an atomic catastrophe that will almost certainly put a fiery period to western civilization—if not to the world itself.

2. The World Task

After three years of most careful consideration of all aspects of the problem of federal aid, the AFT Commission on Educational Reconstruction by unanimous vote adopted this report. At the beginning of their study large areas of disagreement existed among the members of the Commission. After thirty-six months of deliberation, however, the areas of disagreement were narrowed down to three specific points which are relatively minor in relation to the very great importance of finding ways and means through which the Federal Government may assist the states in providing an adequate program of education and welfare services for children and youth.

The members of the Commission agreed unanimously on the entire report with the following three exceptions: one member took the position that transportation should not be included among the services for children; two members felt that non-sectarian textbooks should be added to the services for children; another member maintained that there should be two separate federal aid bills, one to provide aid to schools, the other to provide aid for services for children.

Throughout Europe, Asia, and the Americas a choice of three systems is being forced. At one extreme communism promises security to the people of the world by way of a "dictatorship of the proletariat." So potent is its appeal in this time of desperation that democracy finds itself confronted by a deadly serious rival for the allegiance of the young and the hopes of the underprivileged. At the opposite end of the political spectrum is fascism, a similarly aggressive and similarly totalitarian movement—one that would willingly plunge the world into the most horrible and devastating of all wars. The specific fascist machines of Hitler and Mussolini were smashed in World War II, but the poverty, the mass hopelessness, and the misery that built them up are more widespread than ever—and they have the same lethal possibilities.

Communism and fascism have in common more than the evil of tyranny. They share an ambition to destroy the liberal-democratic forces. Each

plays on fear of the other, the Communists offering their solution as the only salvation from fascism, the Fascists proclaiming themselves the saviors of the world from communism. This technique has netted both of them gains at the expense of the fear-ridden middle. We repudiate this choice of false alternatives. Rejecting both communism and fascism, we take our stand for a revitalized democracy as the only weapon that can successfully combat either system of tyranny and the only choice for free men.

Ironically, the United States at its moment of greatest physical power finds itself spiritually at a low ebb, its great democratic traditions taken for granted, its vigilance for freedom dissipated by a false sense of security, and its moral leadership of the world at stake almost without its being aware of the crisis.

3. The Challenge to Education

Paradoxically, that crisis is both immediate and prolonged. It is too urgent to wait solution by the next generation, and yet it is recurrent in its nature, with any single attack carrying the possibility of a fatal resolution. Therefore, the educational process, which alone can rekindle the spirit of democracy, must be developed, deepened and accelerated on two levels. Adult education must be carried on unceasingly to give people a basis for forming judgments in a tempestuous world and for resisting the fatal propaganda of political sirens. At the same time, it must be recognized that the hope of the future lies in a drastically invigorated educational system for the training of the young. Organized education is the primary resource of our country in the preparation of our youth. Its program must be adapted to the nation's vital role as the savior of human freedom. This must be, increasingly, the emphasis in the public schools of the country.

4. Democracy and the Public School

The public school must nurture in the young a full and devoted appreciation of our democratic heritage. This can be done only through an educational profession fully conscious of the fact that democratic practices, attitudes, and loyalties must be acquired anew by each successive generation. Teachers must convey to their pupils the understanding that the life of freedom has a price, that it demands its own special type of discipline and its distinctive responsibility, personal and social.

We live in a period of disintegration of family and neighborhood relationships, marked by an in-

crease in juvenile delinquency. Here, too, the public school is called upon to assume leadership in the development of a program. This Commission believes that the problems of delinquency can best be overcome by a positive interpretation of American life—one that will give to the young a sense of purpose and direction. The child must be made to feel that he has an opportunity to take his rightful place in the world, that he will grow up not merely to satisfy his needs in a selfish struggle for existence, but to perform a useful and needed function in society. Never in our history has a rising generation been confronted with a more profound challenge.

The public school must acquaint the young with the history of man's long struggle for democracy, with its triumphs, its defeats, and its costs; with its classic documents, its institutions, and its full meaning—not merely in political terms, but socially and economically as well. It must also introduce to them the problems they face in retaining for themselves the life of freedom, the tasks and opportunities that now confront democracy as a result of the impact of science and technology on human life and society.

It is also the responsibility of the public school to equip the young with both the skills and knowledge necessary to carry on the progress of science and the spirit to apply such progress to the development of democracy. It is no accident that anti-social movements traditionally attempt to undermine the use of scientific method. For social progress depends on science, and, conversely, science flourishes best in an atmosphere of social and political freedom. The two concepts are interwoven. Whether our youth are destined for peace or war, we consider the most thorough training in the methods, disciplines, and achievements of science to be indispensable.

It is, therefore, vitally important for the public school to develop an understanding of America's relation to the rest of the world. It must provide knowledge of other peoples and cultures, of the international strains and tensions of this period, and of the efforts being made to organize the world for security, justice among nations, a higher standard of living, and the establishment of permanent peace.

5. The Need for More Adequate Support

It is an appalling reflection on the inadequacy of American schools that when the nation had to rally its manpower for the greatest war in history, fully five million men were unprepared—

physically, mentally, or both—to serve their country and the cause of freedom. Among the chief reasons for rejection was illiteracy—an unpardonable condition in the world's wealthiest nation.

In view of the need we have already set forth, this Commission believes that the public school, the keystone of the democratic educational system, must receive the moral support of the entire national community. This means all sections of the population—all classes, all national groups, all religious denominations, all races, and all regions. The public school best serves the community when it brings together children of all the component groups of American society. As they live, work, and play together under democratic conditions, they learn, feel, and think the ways of democracy; they develop that body of sentiments, loyalties and disciplines that knits the national fabric and perpetuates a common and harmonious way of life.

It must be made apparent to the nation that the public school should receive material support commensurate with the gravity of its task. This means far more generous financial aid than public education has ever received in the United States—or anywhere else. It means, specifically, that local and state support must be supplemented liberally by funds from the Federal Government. Without more aid from the states everywhere, and in some states without more federal aid, it will not be possible to carry out the program so vital to the nation's welfare. Certainly, American democracy must appropriate as great a proportion of its national income to the education of its young as any totalitarian state. To

our shame, this is not now the case.

On the contrary, the woefully inadequate financial support accorded our public schools has produced a critical deterioration that can have only the gravest effect on our national future. Poorly paid and shabbily treated, more than one-half million teachers have abandoned the profession since 1939. Rural schools are increasingly staffed by practically untrained teachers, and even in some of our wealthiest cities the large number of classes without teachers or with unqualified instructors is a problem of major proportions. Many thousands of teaching vacancies exist in our public schools. At least twenty-five percent of the teachers in the classrooms are currently unable to meet a desirable minimum professional standard. For the country as a whole, the average teacher today has one year less education than in 1939, and many thousands of teachers are forced to divide their energies by working at outside jobs in order to eke out a living for their families. The physical plant of our public school system is in hardly less critical a state than our teaching facilities. According to a report of the National Resources Planning Board, fully fifty per cent of our present school buildings are ripe for demolition.

Perhaps the most discouraging aspect of the picture is the fact that little relief is in sight. Enrollment figures for teachers' training institutions show that registration is far below an adequate level. Even where the figures appear on the surface to be encouraging, the facts belie the hope, since thousands of students are enrolled in such schools who have no intention whatever of teaching. They are enrolled only because they



Delegates Assemble for an Afternoon Session

have been unable to gain admission to other colleges. In some of these training schools the proportion of students who intend to make a profession of teaching is as low as thirty per cent, while veterans have found the calling so uninviting that out of one million who have enrolled in schools of higher learning, only twenty thousand—two percent—are in teachers' colleges.

The Commission feels that in this abandonment of the classroom poor pay is a primary factor, but by no means the only one at work. Much will have to be done to restore dignity to the teaching profession, qualifications will have to be raised, and the nation will have to accord its teachers a respect appropriate to the importance of their service. In the last analysis, the quality of our education depends not on school buildings and physical equipment—important as they are—but on the caliber and character of our teachers.

6. Characteristics of a Desirable Federal Aid Program

The American public school system, established for the purpose of strengthening democracy, has always had the full support of the labor movement as well as other progressive forces of the country. Federal aid is now needed to keep that system going effectively. This Commission believes that the aim of federal aid to education should be to strengthen the public school and to assure certain essential services to all children.

A. Essential Features of Federal Aid to the Public Schools. A basic feature of the American constitutional system is the conduct of schools by state and local communities. In providing federal aid, we believe that the national government must respect this principle. Federal aid must not imply federal control. The Commission believes that such aid should be distributed to states on the basis of their respective needs and in amounts large enough so that no state in the Union is left without an adequate educational program and the facilities to carry it out. The Commission recommends further that all federal funds for education be administered through the United States Office of Education, that funds thus allocated to the various states be disbursed through the respective state departments of education, and that in recognition of the principle of state responsibility the definition of what constitutes a public school be left to the state authority. The Commission believes, however, that

in no case should federal funds be used for payment of teachers' salaries in non-tax-supported schools. Furthermore, to assure that the federal funds will be used to supplement—not to supplant—local and state funds the state in accepting these funds, should be required: (1) to distribute such funds to every part of the state on the basis of need; (2) to devise a plan through which the combined state and local current funds for teachers' salaries as well as for other educational purposes shall be maintained at an average level not less than that of September 1, 1947; and (3) to require that a major portion of the federal funds be used to increase the monthly salaries of properly qualified teachers above the salaries paid as of September 1, 1947. In the distribution of federal funds full protection of the rights and privileges of minorities must be guaranteed.

B. Certain Services to All Children and Youth. These include safeguards and protective measures for their health, free lunches during school day, recreation facilities, vacation programs, transportation, grants in aid to families to enable them to keep their children in school, and an adequate public library service. Services provided through federal funds for these purposes should be made available to all children and youth, regardless of race, color, creed, or national ancestry. Federal funds for such services should be disbursed in all cases by a public agency or agencies as designated by the state and approved by the Federal Security Administrator, and in so far as possible by the public agency directly to the families or to the children receiving the benefits.

The Commission believes that these two forms of federal aid are both essential. The chief consideration in legislation to meet these ends is that all aid be granted in the spirit of America's democratic traditions and in time to revitalize the public school for the crucial task that it now confronts.

(Signed)

Selma M. Borchardt
John L. Childs
George S. Counts
Arthur A. Elder
Irvin R. Kuenzli
Joseph F. Landis
Florence Thorne
Robert Weaver
Floyd W. Reeves, Chairman



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Front row: J. W. Lawton, presid of England and Wales; Selma Bear tive; Joan Burbidge, assistant editor

● Right: CONVENTION
INTERNATIONAL



ERS ATIONVENTION'S NATIONAL RELATIONS DINNER

shank, A representative on U.S. Commission
on, Univer. of Oslo, Norway; Joseph F. Landis,
George S. Co., Teachers College, Columbia Uni-

n, presid. of the National Union of Teachers
Selma Beard, AFT's Washington representa-
-tivist editorial officer of the British Embassy.

ENTIONCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL RELATIONS



Banquet
Annual Convention
National Federation of Teachers
Somerville, Boston, Mass.
Aug. 1947.

Report of AFT's Washington Representative

Excerpts from the Convention Address of Miss Selma Borchardt



THE role of free public schools as a major factor in preserving and developing the democratic way of life is seriously challenged today.

The role of the *teacher* in the educational process has been depreciated. The social literacy of our country is not adequate to meet the tremendous social responsibility of our country. We in the American Federation of Teachers believe in democracy and in the public school as a major force in preserving and developing democracy. Why?

The management of our schools is not in the hands of the majority of our people. As our Dr. George Counts pointed out, only 3% of the 6,390 school board members were drawn from labor. As every teacher in this room knows, in very few communities in our country, does the *teacher* play a major role in shaping educational policies. The American teacher's role is sentimentally played up by those who talk of education; it is functionally played down by those who administer our schools.

The teacher is not secure. Over one third of our teachers are not covered by tenure. The teacher is not paid an adequate salary. Not only is his salary not adequate, but the *teacher's* salary in the majority of communities today has little relation to the salary of others in a school system. We are all familiar with the usual pattern of getting a pay bill drawn. Teachers are given a schedule. The administrators are given a raise of thousands of dollars each. The teachers are given a hundred or two or perhaps even four or

five hundred. Then they are told: "Here is a salary bill. Take it as it is; don't change a single item in it or you may not get your raise." So they take it—happily, submissively, unless the AFT has a local in that community. An AFT local will look for jokers in the bill. An AFT local will ask, "What about adult education?" "What about provision for *enforcement* of child labor laws and school attendance laws?" "What about the *relation* of the several salary classifications in the bill?" "Why not give *the teacher* more?" "Why not increase the total amount?" "How is the money to be raised?"

We all know that were it not for the AFT and its locals, there would be few places in America today in which teachers would question the use of the sales tax as a means of raising school revenue. In few if any places have company unions ever questioned the indignities to which minority groups are subjected. It is the teachers' union which has said, "We shall not accept this bill because it does not give proper recognition to this small group." Our locals, usually in the face of terrific opposition have said, "The bill is top heavy" or "The bill threatens tenure." We have dared fight for what we say we believe.

The pattern so familiar to all of us at the local level is reproduced at the state and the national level.

We are, as a nation, confronted by a serious threat—no, by the alarming manifestation of social illiteracy. When any community sends isolationist, anti-labor, anti-social men and women to Congress, that community announces to the world: "Our schools have not prepared our people to meet their tasks today." Take the last Congress. Perhaps the people did not know the qualities of some whom they sent to speak for them; but perhaps they did not realize what they really wanted to have said for them. Is there any other teacher organization in America which has dared speak up, which has dared challenge the popular anti-social trend? Here again we know the usual pattern. Teachers are told, "This is the bill to indorse." And they do it. "This is not the *teacher's* business"—and so they don't even read about it. The result? Let's look at the record.

Federal Aid for Education

No organization in the United States has done as much in helping shape a sound equitable federal aid bill as has the AFT and our parent body, the AFL. No organization has been more viciously attacked for its fight than has the AFT.

We may today realize with satisfaction and pride that the very points for which we were most thoroughly attacked in years past have today become the very points for which our enemies take especial credit.

Read the record. Our fight for the protection of minorities has been won. Our enemies claim credit. We rejoice that social justice has been done. We asked that federal funds be distributed on a basis of relative need. We are approaching such a formula. We demanded administrative safeguards—and were called names for our demands. Yes, look at the record. We, *and we alone*, asked:

1. That federal funds should supplement and not supplant state funds.
2. That at least the wage level paid to teachers in the war should be maintained by the community receiving federal aid.
3. That at least the total educational budget which the state and local community maintained during the war be maintained by the state and local community receiving the aid.
4. That the major portion of the federal funds be used to increase *teachers' salaries*.
5. That the funds be made available to every part of the state in need thereof.
6. That there be publication of plans before the funds are expended, showing how the funds are to be expended, and after they have been expended, showing how they have been expended.
7. That while we should oppose any requirement of state-matching of federal appropriation, we should require a minimum state-local expenditure per child of each state getting aid.

For asking for those seven administrative safeguards we were severely criticized. Your representatives were viciously attacked. Today four of these seven points are claimed by our enemies as essential points for which they fight. We rejoice that they have come to share our point of view so far.

But that is not all. We have asked for more. We asked also:

8. That *no* money appropriated shall be used to pay the salaries of any teacher not in the public schools. Please note this fact.

The AFT is the *only* educational organization

in the country that has pressed this point. The organization which attacks us bitterly, which says we would unite church and state if we feed a child in the non-public schools, supports a bill which makes funds available for salaries for teachers in the non-public schools. Here let me add for the record that when this provision was proposed, National Catholic Welfare was asked if such a provision would make them oppose the bill and the answer was: "No, we do not want one cent for salaries of our teachers. But we do want every child—those in our schools and those in the public schools—all to receive the full benefits of all services."

9. We have asked for services for all children—because they are children. Unlike the totalitarian state, which requires each man to treat his child thus and so, we hold that every child be granted services regardless of where the religious and other convictions of the parent may place the child.

SCHOOL LIFE in November 1945 published an article on *Health Needs of School-Age Children and Recommendation for Implementations*. The statement of unmet needs is shocking in our rich country. Mark you, the U.S. Office of Education reports that of 43 states responding to their inquiry the per pupil expenditure for health services, for all children 5-17 years of age amounts to 78 cents per year! Do we need federal aid for a school health program? Congress has before it a bill for a school health program. So far, no action—surely action is needed.

10. We want scholarships and sustenance aid made available for every child, provided the child attends a school which meets the educational standards of the state. And here we must frankly state, if we really want these services for all children we must provide the administrative machinery to make the services available for all.

11. We want adequate funds to make our federal aid program have worth. Not less than one billion dollars of federal funds can begin to give our schools and all children the minimum of what they need. The federal aid bill now pending before Congress *if amended to meet these standards* has an excellent chance of passing. I trust and believe that we all really want action.

School Lunch Program

Last year the Congress wrote into substantive law the provisions for a School Lunch Program. For years, you may remember, our enemies blocked such legislation, as today they delay the enactment of a federal aid program for education. They said, "Rather no law than a law which permits federal funds for feeding children in the non-public schools." Through the years we fought on



two fronts: for a permanent law for a school lunch program; for an annual emergency appropriation. One year, you may recall, while our enemies were fighting against feeding all children, we had a rider put on to the Rodent Control Provision in the Agriculture Bill, providing for school lunches. We were more concerned with getting every child fed than with how to keep some of them hungry.

Today we have substantive law providing for feeding all children. This year we have had to convince Congress to appropriate money for school lunches. The House cut the appropriation to a vanishing point; the Senate raised it. A conference reached an inadequate, but not too tragic compromise. I do not know what kind of federal aid bill can pass, but I do know what kind of bills have passed. The only bills that have been passed are those which grant aid for all.

Library Extension Bill

This Congress passed the Library Rural Demonstration Extension Bill. It is to be hoped that our State Federations will appoint special committees to help implement the social potentialities of this bill.

Mental Health Act

Similarly, our state and local bodies should give careful consideration to the administration of the Mental Health Act in their respective communities. The ways in which such an act may be most effectively co-ordinated with educational pro-

grams, deserve our special attention.

Veterans' Training

The AFT was the first, and, for a long time, the only educational organization that fought for the G.I.'s *right* to determine the kind of education he would seek.

Today, veterans' education is a highly complex problem. It is so complex—and so important, from every angle—that a special committee should be appointed by the Executive Council to study this whole question and report thereon.

The National Science Foundation Bill

No one questions the need of a National Science Foundation. Congress this year finally enacted a bill providing for this institution. The President vetoed the bill, not because he did not like Foundations, but because he could not approve the method of administration provided in the bill as it was passed.

Let us remember that this bill makes millions available. This Foundation will control the policy on patents for inventions for our country. The President wants the administrative machinery for this tremendously important measure vested in the federal government. The bill as passed vested administrative authority in a board of part time advisers appointed by the President. It would seem that what we need is governmental administrative authority coordinated with a public and private advisory board.

District Teachers Pay Bill

The Congress of the United States has passed a law which while granting a pay raise of \$150 to \$250 to Washington's teachers, gave increases of thousands of dollars to administrators. The bill does provide a single salary schedule for which the AFT, and the AFT alone, dared fight. This sets a national pattern for the single salary schedule.

But this bill establishes a vicious merit rating system with statutory provisions for periodic check ups. The unions were able to save tenure, but only with the greatest effort. Teachers must have a master's degree to get the benefits of the Act; administrators need not be educated.

Of course, the unions fought. But your elected senators and representatives denied us a chance to be heard on the special bill *they* prepared in executive session with the school officers.

Many Gains Lost, Sound Legislation Blocked

In Washington this year anti-social forces have wiped out some of the greatest gains made by our people over many years. The passage of sound social legislation was blocked; appropriations were slashed ruthlessly, for every social program.

Just a rapid look at some of these casualties. No hearings were held on the Pepper-Morse Bill granting equal pay for women; no action on an FEPC Bill; no hearings on the school health bill; no health insurance bill, not even the very bad Taft Bill. This bill, we should note, provides for a means test—a vicious procedure and requirement in any program—and it proposed separate administration of the preventative and the curative program. A very bad bill, a totally inadequate bill—but too good for the American people, this Congress thought. But the hearings on this bill should be read to see how low the standard of questioning sank.

No action was taken on the Pepper amendment to the tax bill seeking to exempt the funds teachers must pay to attend summer schools, and the other purposes through which they may improve their professional status.

This Congress should suffer pangs of conscience now because they failed to open our gates to the tragic victims of totalitarian oppression—the displaced persons. Civilian and military authorities in the United States have all urged the admission of these unfortunate people—but our doors remain tightly locked against them.

Housing legislation so vitally needed was also not even considered. The anti-poll tax legislation was crushed.

The enforcement of child labor provisions under the Labor Department was nullified. The appropriation was cut to the vanishing point and the administration was transferred to the Wages and Hours Division. This crime against America's children is our especial business. We must have this service restored and our children protected. Look at the table of cuts in appropriations appended hereto.

The functions of the Labor Department were practically wiped out! The Division of Labor Standards so necessary to our national stability can no longer serve our people.

A splendid program of Labor Education Service, modestly begun and, though inadequately financed, far-reaching in its benefits, is wiped out.

Today the AFL asks for substantive law to establish a nationwide, properly supported federal-state program of Labor and Education Service doing for labor what the Agricultural Extension Program does for agriculture. Labor asks for this program; the whole nation needs it.

This Congress failed to extend the benefits of social security coverage to those poor people most sorely in need thereof. This Congress even postponed the raising of benefits to the amount a previous Congress had authorized.

The Taft-Hartley Bill

In bringing this report to a close we must refer to the most drastic curb on American liberties enacted for many years—the Taft-Hartley Bill. We have a responsibility in this matter as citizens and as teachers, charged with teaching respect for our Constitution.

Because we as state and municipal employees are not subject to the NLRA we are not immediately involved in the application of many of the restrictions of the Act. But this law denies us the right to publish one word of criticism of the men who wipe out funds with which to protect our children. I can see but one course open to us as loyal Americans: to fight to protect our Constitution with its Bill of Rights.

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RESOLUTIONS AND

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

I. GENERAL PRINCIPLES

1. The American public school system, established for the purpose of strengthening democracy, has always had the full support of the labor movement as well as that of other progressive forces of the country. Federal aid is needed now to keep that system going effectively. The American Federation of Teachers believes that federal funds should be used to strengthen the public school and to assure certain essential services to all children.
2. Education is primarily a state responsibility and its operation and management must be explicitly reserved to the states. The conditions under which federal funds are made available to the states must not be permitted to endanger the state's control of its educational program, including the right to determine what constitutes a public school.

3. In the development of educational policies, organized labor and other progressive forces should urge each state to give due weight to the basic principle that the interests of the democratic community are best served where children of all component groups of American society are enrolled in a common public school. As they live, work, and play together under democratic conditions, they learn, feel and think the ways of democracy; they develop that body of sentiments, loyalties and disciplines that knits the national fabric and perpetuates a common and harmonious way of life.

On the other hand, the right of parents for religious or other reasons, to send their children to acceptable and adequate non-public schools, is fully recognized. This recognition of the legitimate existence of non-public schools carries no obligation for government to provide funds to maintain them; nor does it free government from the responsibility of maintaining the welfare of children who are enrolled in such schools on the same level as that of all other children.

II. FEDERAL AID FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

(Every item in Section II concerns only public schools.)

1. Principles of Apportionment

- a) The basis of apportionment among the states shall be need.
- b) The total amount appropriated should be sufficient so that each state shall receive a minimum grant for support from federal funds after sufficient funds for establishing a basic minimum program have been made available to the children of all states.
- c) The scale of appropriations shall be gradually increased.
- d) The formula for apportionment according to need

shall be objective and not too complicated for general understanding.

- e) Federal funds should be made available to every part of each state according to the needs thereof.
- f) Combined state and local current funds for teachers' salaries as well as for other educational purposes shall be maintained at an average level which is not below that prevailing at the time of the enactment of federal aid legislation.
- g) A major portion of federal funds shall be used to increase monthly salaries of properly qualified teachers above those prevailing at the time of the passage of the act.

2. Administration of Funds

- a) Federal funds for education shall be administered through the Office of Education.
- b) Funds allocated to the states shall be disbursed through state departments of education.
- c) States shall be required to publish plans for expenditure of federal funds before such funds can be granted and to account for them after expenditure.

These plans shall be required to provide an adequate fixed minimum sum for the education of every child in all states, regardless of minority status.

- d) Complete and definite annual audits shall be made by the federal government of all federal funds distributed to the states.
- e) Federal funds shall not be used to reduce interest and debt service on existing plants.

3. Minorities

The full protection of the rights and privileges of minorities must be guaranteed.

4. Additional Specific Goals

- a) A national minimum cultural wage for properly qualified teachers shall be set at \$3000.
- b) Aid shall be sufficient to provide a minimum of 180 days annually.
- c) There shall be aid for all levels and types of education from nursery school through graduate work at universities, including workers' and general adult education.
- d) There shall be compulsory education for all children with special provision to meet the needs of migratory children.
- e) Federal funds may be used for maintenance, operation, business administration, and buildings.
- f) Federal funds may be used for school libraries and audio-visual materials and equipment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

III. SERVICES FOR ALL CHILDREN

1. General Considerations

The American Federation of Teachers believes that each child of this country should have a real opportunity to make the most of his abilities. Teachers have learned from painful firsthand experience that education becomes a meaningful and useful process only when children are well fed, are maintained in a state of good health, are socially well-adjusted, and have available the physical means which enable them to attend the schools of their choice. Therefore, the program to strengthen the public schools should be associated with a general child welfare program. Certain welfare services are directly related to the work of education. Teachers necessarily have a primary responsibility for securing funds to provide these special services. These welfare services should be available to all children regardless of race, color, creed or national ancestry.

2. Administration of Funds

a) The federal government shall cooperate with local and state agencies in the development and administration of these services.

b) Federal funds for services to children shall be disbursed in all cases by a public agency or agencies as designated by the state and approved by the federal government.

c) The federal government shall make complete and definite annual audits of all federal funds distributed.

d) If federal legislation shall make available several services from one general fund, the refusal by any state to accept one or more of these services shall not impair its right to accept remaining services.

e) When a state shall accept federal funds to provide any services, such services shall be available to all chil-

dren in that state.

3. Services Specially Related to the Work of Schools

a) Health services including psychiatric aids.

b) Recreation services including vacation and camp programs.

c) School lunches.

d) Public library service.

e) Some form of subsidy to be administered through local public welfare agencies, which will enable needy youth, particularly on the secondary school level, to continue in school.

f) Scholarships to assist the able to continue education above the secondary school level.

Important and urgent as these welfare services are, the American Federation of Teachers does not consider that they constitute the most fundamental approach to the problem of child care. The well-being of children can be assured only when their parents have security in jobs that pay wages sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living. The American Federation of Teachers in co-operation with other labor organizations is committed to the establishment and maintenance of such a standard of living.

IV. NEED FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

The American Federation of Teachers believes that federal aid for public schools and for welfare services both are essential. The chief consideration in legislation to meet these ends is that all be granted in the spirit of America's democratic traditions and in time to re-vitalize the public school for the crucial task which it now confronts. This convention urges action by the 80th Congress.



COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS

BY action of the convention the name of the Committee on Cultural Minorities was changed to the Committee on Democratic Human Relations. Two reasons for the change were presented: first, the words "Cultural Minorities" imply a division into majorities and minorities with more emphasis on differences than on likenesses; second, the latter title indicates an emphasis on the common humanity of all peoples as well as the goal toward which our work is directed.

The Committee recommended to the locals the Plan of Action developed by the AFT Conference on Education for Democratic Human Relations. This plan was published in the March 1947 issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*. The hope was expressed that the locals would keep the national committee informed of their progress in effecting any or all activities suggested in the plan.

After the committee presented a brief statement of policy and action the convention voted:

I. To work within the AFT for the following:

a) A continuation of the scholarship of the Committee on Cultural Minorities [now the Committee on Democratic Human Relations] to the AFT Summer Workshop.

b) A course, if feasible, in the AFT Workshop, of techniques in education for better human relations.

c) Democratic practices in opposition to discrimination, by adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, That the national organization shall operate under a national policy which shall discourage the estab-

lishment of segregated locals; it shall urge locals in areas where separate locals are now established to function together and to work toward the establishment of a single local; it shall, before granting a separate charter to any local on racial lines, cause the representatives of the different racial groups seeking a separate charter to meet together and consider together the desirability of forming one union; and be it further

Resolved, That a joint board, where two or more locals exist, shall be organized to carry on cooperative activities on school problems and on other problems of mutual interest; and be it further

Resolved, That the national office aid two or more locals in the same area to merge as rapidly as possible; and be it further

Resolved, That a complete record of all negotiations in a community, successful or unsuccessful in establishing one local, be filed immediately with the secretary-treasurer and be made available to locals requesting the information, and that locals treat such information as confidential.

II. To work with community groups for:

a) A nation-wide drive, under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Education, for the teaching and practice of our democratic principles.

b) The establishment of local committees of labor, civic, and religious organizations which will work to have introduced into the school system courses on democratic human relations and will be empowered to correct those practices and conditions which are a violation of democratic human relations.

The committee recommends that our research director be authorized to work with the experiment in race relations at the University of Chicago, in order to help locals and such civic committees as may be created to prepare, for public school systems, courses on democratic human relations.

COMMITTEE ON DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS



c) The establishment of a Permanent Commission to abolish national, racial, and religious discrimination in non-sectarian educational institutions.

d) Financial aid and public support for the National Council for an FEPC to secure the passage of the Ives-Fulton Anti-Discrimination Bill.

e) Enactment and enforcement of a Civil Rights Bill in the District of Columbia which grants its citizens the right to vote and safeguards them against segregation and discrimination on grounds of race, color, creed, or national origin on any means of transportation, or in theaters, moving picture houses, hotels, restaurants, and all places for public amusement and recreation.

f) Enforcement by the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice of Article IV of the U. S. Constitution and Section I of Article XIV, which read:

"The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of the citizens in the several states"; and

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law." . . .

g) Support for the Wagner Bill S-1352, the Case Bill 3488, or any other bill embracing provisions which make the crime of lynching a federal offense, thus empowering the Department of Justice to enforce Article V of the Constitution which states: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

h) Support for enabling legislation for enforcing Section II of Amendment XIV which reads:

"But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the U. S., Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of the State, or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such state, being 21 years of age, and citizens of the U. S., or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportions which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state."

We further recommend that such legislation embody the following procedure:

1. Each state, to be entitled to its full Congressional representation, as determined by the Census, is required to maintain a minimum electorate of 65% of all persons 21 years of age and over who are not disqualified by reason of crime, participation in rebellion, legal disability, or alien status.

2. The Bureau of the Census is charged with the responsibility of certifying the number of persons in each state 21 or over who may participate in the Federal elections. The Bureau of the Census will also receive returns from each Congressional district as to the actual number of persons who voted in the Federal elections. The difference between the actual voters and the number of persons 21 and over not disqualified by reason of crime, participation in rebellion, legal disability, or alien status shall be the percentage by which the Congressional representation of the state shall be reduced.

3. The Bureau of the Census will determine this proportion of reduction and certify to the Clerk of the House of Representatives the number of Congressmen each state is entitled to. Only that number of representatives from each state shall be seated in the Congress for which the election was held.

4. Further in the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, there shall be created an Officer of Elections whose duty it will be to investigate and adjust complaints of individuals and groups who have been prevented from voting in the Federal elections. This special officer shall further be charged with removing from further duties in federal elections any official who prevents an eligible citizen from voting.

5. This act shall go into effect immediately upon its passage.

These policies, we know, will require continuous and persistent effort for their achievement—but we know organized teachers and organized labor are not daunted by the size of the task and will not stop until "Education for Democracy and Democracy in Education" are a reality.



COMMITTEE ON
ACADEMIC
FREEDOM
OCTOBER, 1947

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

"Superior Merit" Rating

WHEREAS, The legislature of New York State attempted to meet the educational crisis by salary legislation which embodies the superior merit rating plan under which local boards of education may block any salary increases beyond the sixth, ninth, twelfth, and fifteenth year by denying to some teachers superior merit rating; and

WHEREAS, Superior merit rating has been tried in New York City and discarded because it tested "superior subserviency" rather than superior efficiency; and

WHEREAS, Superior merit rating and all subjective and unscientific evaluation plans destroy the rapport that should exist between teacher and supervisor, undermine morale, and encourage the injection into our schools of political, religious, and social influences to the detriment of the effective functioning of our school system; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT condemn the principle of "superior merit" plans and oppose the introduction of all subjective and unscientific rating scales everywhere; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT aid locals in their fight for the repeal of superior merit rating provisions.

Chronological Promotion Of Students

WHEREAS, The program of chronological promotion of students from grade to grade without regard to achievement or ability to progress to higher levels of learning has become an accepted philosophy of education in many public school systems of this country; and

WHEREAS, The classes in such institutions are frequently too large to permit individualization of instruction; and

WHEREAS, Provision for psychological testing, remedial teaching, and other aids for slow-learning pupils is grossly inadequate; and

WHEREAS, The policy of continuous pupil progress has been put into practice by administrators without due consultation of parents or with classroom teachers; and

WHEREAS, It is thought that the system has been adopted as an economy measure, since no honest attempt has been made to help students attain minimum proficiency in tool

subjects even where this would be realizable under truly progressive planning; and

WHEREAS, Many earnest and sincere educators maintain that the American public school child, under this system, is being defrauded of his right to an education because of the abolition of standards, the destruction of incentives, and the lowering of student and teacher morale; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT be instructed to make a study of chronological promotion where the system obtains throughout the nation and publish its findings from time to time in the *AMERICAN TEACHER* and that the results of this study be placed on the agenda of the 1948 convention for action.

Democracy in Education

WHEREAS, The full growth of American education has long been inhibited by the arbitrary nature of our school administrative structure; and

WHEREAS, An administrative approach varying from arbitrary dictation to patronizing paternalism has produced timidity, frustration, and a distaste for their profession in the pattern of numberless teachers' lives; and

WHEREAS, Teachers so directed can only with extreme difficulty develop the attitudes and capacities suitable for the interpretation and practice of our form of government among children; and

WHEREAS, Lack of respect, confidence, and consideration of teachers by administrators has reduced the ranks of the teaching profession, and has discouraged young students of independence and character from entering the field; therefore be it

Resolved, That all school administrators be encouraged to reshape administrative structures to increase teacher participation and contributions to matters of policy and practice; and be it further

Resolved, That school administrations look into some of the systems where a plan for administrative democracy has been set up, such as the Newcastle, Indiana Plan, in order to overcome more quickly the lag in democratic practices in teacher-administrative relationships.

Teacher Training

WHEREAS, A great body of new information has been opened up to us by psychology and psychiatry; and

WHEREAS, This new information has brought new techniques in education; and

WHEREAS, There has been a growing realization of responsibility of education in preparing citizens to solve their personal problems and those of society; therefore be it

Resolved, That this body go on record as recommending that training courses, in order to raise the standards of the profession, should embrace the following:

1. The teacher should receive a broad cultural education in addition to the attainment of mastery of his own subject.

2. The major part of the prospective teacher's training course should be devoted to actual work with children.

3. The supervised teaching experience should be long, continuous, and varied as to socio-economic and racial groups.

4. The prospective teacher should be trained to work with a social agency in order to obtain an understanding of the relation between the school and the social agencies of the community.

5. The future teacher should be guided in the planning of curriculum and in the handling of it in relation to the psychological and physical development of the child.

6. The period of preparation should be lengthened to five years so that a well co-ordinated and integrated course may be offered.

7. Broad psychiatric and psychometric services should be made available in teacher training institutions so that persons not psychologically fitted for the arduous duties of the profession may have early guidance in making suitable vocational choices.

The Teaching of Industrial-Labor Relations

WHEREAS, Industrial-labor relations are a major national problem; and

WHEREAS, Modern education should help understand and solve

major national problems; and

WHEREAS, Conventional textbooks, the radio, press and magazines often treat industrial-labor problems in a biased and insignificant manner in contrast to its importance; and

WHEREAS, Teachers can best promote better industrial-labor relations through instruction of our future citizens; and

WHEREAS, Several AFT locals have already developed and promoted such studies in various school systems; therefore be it

Resolved, That the national convention of the AFT go on record urging greater emphasis on the teaching of industrial-labor relations and on presenting all points of view for unbiased and objective discussion; and be it further

Resolved, That publicity of what has been done in this field by various school systems be given through the AMERICAN TEACHER; and be it further

Resolved, That promotion of the teaching of courses or units in industrial-labor relations be undertaken by the AFT through its locals and through AFL central labor bodies; and be it further

Resolved, That the importance of teaching industrial-labor relations in the social studies of our secondary schools be emphasized through the national office of the AFT as a major domestic problem of America today.

Restrictions on the Freedom of Teachers

WHEREAS, There still exist some school boards who condition employment in their school systems by the inclusion in teachers' contracts of restrictive clauses in the areas of professional affiliations, political ac-

tivity, social customs, and religious practices; and

WHEREAS, Such contractual clauses are un-American and serve to negate individual liberty; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention instruct the Executive Council to make an extensive study of the extent to which such practices prevail, with a view to mapping a corrective program.

Training for Democratic Citizenship

WHEREAS, The possible use of atomic energy for military purposes endangers the continuance of civilization; and

WHEREAS, The responsibility of government in a democracy rests upon the people; and

WHEREAS, In many school systems, the social sciences are seriously neglected and inadequately taught; and

WHEREAS, Intelligent solutions of all governmental problems, both domestic and foreign, can be achieved only if the individual citizens of the nation have knowledge to understand situations and have skills to decide issues; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT either appoint a special committee or assign to the Educational Policies Committee the task of working with recognized authorities in the development of criteria and materials by which locals may evaluate the social sciences taught in their schools; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT recommend to educators that curricula and textbooks be examined to determine if materials are included and emphasized in the high schools which will give students the basis for the development of an understanding of

both domestic and foreign governmental problems; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT recommend to educators that they emphasize in the courses in the social sciences the development of those skills which will make it possible for the individual citizen to analyze government problems and to make intelligent decisions; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT urge its membership to implement the work in the high schools by establishing in their various schools such techniques of teaching that the social sciences will serve as a laboratory for the study of the problems of a citizen in a democracy and thereby provide practical training in the intelligent analysis of such problems in order that the students may develop a conception of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship which is functional rather than academic.

Compiling the History of The AFT and Its Locals

The Committee on Educational Policies, in addition to studying the various resolutions assigned to it and making recommendations on them, presented the following statement and recommendations, which were adopted by the convention:

The Committee on Educational Policies believes that the work of the American Federation of Teachers is a major factor in the development of American educational policy. A record of that work is a significant part of the history of American education.

The Committee therefore notes with great satisfaction that the Executive Council has recommended that the history of the AFT be compiled and published.



Your committee would, however, go one step further. The history of the AFT is not only of the past, but of the present, and the future.

This federation is a dynamic organization and its history is a living force.

Therefore the committee recommends:

1. That the AFT urge each of its locals to have compiled its history and further urge that the recording and compilation of the locals' history be kept currently complete.

2. That the AFT reassume its former practice of publishing its annual proceedings, such proceedings to include:

a. The reports of all convention committees.

b. The resolutions adopted by the convention.

c. The summary of the debate on the major controversial issues discussed by the convention.

d. The major convention addresses.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

Conservation of Natural Resources

WHEREAS, The private utility interests of the nation have consistently and persistently fought against the development of our natural resources for the benefit of all the people; and

WHEREAS, The American people have been guilty of permitting drought and flood unnecessarily to destroy homes and crops and soil; and

WHEREAS, The AFT is deeply concerned that our natural wealth be conserved for the future welfare of the nation and of the world; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT endorse and work for a nationwide integrated public power system, in which regional valley authorities close to the life of the people, set up along the lines of the T.V.A., shall develop overall programs of soil conservation, flood control, irrigation, navigation, power and reforestation; and be it further

Resolved, That in the development of this program immediate attention be given to the establishment of a Missouri Valley Authority.

Restriction of the Rights Of Teachers

WHEREAS, Teachers and other public employees are citizens and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of other citizens; and

WHEREAS, Recent acts of the Congress and of some state legislatures have restricted teachers and other public employees in the exercise of their rights as members of organized groups, such as denying them the right to strike; and

WHEREAS, Such restrictions are an unwarranted discrimination against teachers and other public employees; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled urge the repeal of all special laws restricting the rights of teachers and other public em-

ployees to employ practices and methods permitted to other groups of non-public employees.

Wagner-Murray-Dingell Health Bill

WHEREAS, Congressional action is necessary and inevitable in the area of health if this problem is to be adequately met; and

WHEREAS, The proposed Taft Bill S-545 fails to offer sufficient health insurance and requires the patient to submit to a humiliating means test; and

WHEREAS, The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill offers medical insurance against illness instead of uncertain charity service for indigents; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support the principles of S. 1320, the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Health Bill.

Fair Employment Practices

WHEREAS, The AFT is interested in economic justice, particularly in fair employment practices; and

WHEREAS, Discrimination against the Negro race in employment is widespread in the United States; and

WHEREAS, Discrimination in employment against the Jewish minority group is prevalent and seems to be increasing; and

WHEREAS, Economic discrimination against Mexicans and other small minorities is becoming a serious matter; and

WHEREAS, Private business shows little ability or disposition to deal with this deplorable situation; and

WHEREAS, The State of New York has in operation a Fair Employment Practices Act which is working successfully; therefore be it

Resolved, By the AFT in convention assembled that the Congress of the United States be respectfully urged to enact a Fair Employment Practices Act covering the United States and all territories subject to their jurisdiction, at the next session of Congress, regular or special.

Monopolies and Restraint of Trade

WHEREAS, Monopolies tend to destroy the balance between production and purchasing power; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support and endorse the current drive of the Department of Justice to prosecute the participants in restraint of trade agreements which fix prices and restrict output; and be it further

Resolved, That adequate funds and personnel should be allocated to this drive to insure its continued success.

Developing Atomic Energy

WHEREAS, The development of atomic energy is vitally related to the future welfare of mankind, with possibilities either for a peaceful economy of abundance or for suicidal war; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT:

1) Support the continued civilian control of atomic energy development.

2) Work for a program of education to the end that understanding of the meaning of atomic energy, including its social implications, shall become as widespread as possible.

3) Support all efforts to retain the useful peacetime developments of atomic energy in the public domain for the common welfare, resisting all plans that would build up private vested interests for exploitation in this field.

Cooperatives

WHEREAS, Cooperatives have been proven to act as a balancing and controlling agent in relation to private monopolies in the fields of production and distribution; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT urge all locals and members to support and encourage the formation and use of Rochdale cooperatives whenever possible.

Study of Causes of Inflation and Depression

WHEREAS, During the war years federal controls preserved some degree of balance between the prices of commodities and the income of workers; and

WHEREAS, These federal controls have been hastily abandoned; and

WHEREAS, The promised and predicted restoration of balance between prices and purchasing power, based on the classical laws of supply and demand, has in no wise been achieved; and

WHEREAS, The present inflation spiral in which the consumer finds himself has dismaying and frightening possibilities both for the present and the future; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Executive Council of the AFT be urged to have prepared a simple, effective and liberal interpretation of the root causes of inflation and depression, together with a study of the manipulation of money and credit, and make these findings of fact and proposed remedy available to the membership.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

WHEREAS, There will be more and more concerted efforts to restore the old high protective tariff policy; and

WHEREAS, This policy, in the main, resulted in tariff barriers being set up throughout the world; and

WHEREAS, A high protective tariff is not consonant with the efforts to create world economic security and to strengthen the United Nations; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support all action to resist attempts by the 80th Congress to replace, supplant or weaken the Reciprocal Tariff Trade Act; and be it further

Resolved, That action be taken to extend the policy of reciprocity with all nations.

Housing

WHEREAS, The difficulty of securing adequate housing for low income groups in the United States is more serious than ever before; and

WHEREAS, Private industry during the last quarter of a century has made no important effort to initiate a building program for the poorer segments of our population; therefore be it

Resolved, By the AFT in convention assembled that the Congress of the United States, in the next session, regular or special, be respectfully urged to appropriate money for a low cost housing program somewhat like the Taft-Wagner-Elender Bill considered at the past session of Congress.

Federal Minimum Wage Law

WHEREAS, The cost of living has been steadily mounting; and

WHEREAS, The present minimum wage law is far below a subsistence level; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support action for passage of a federal minimum wage law raising the level of minimum wages to at least 65 cents an hour.

Publicity for AFT Stand On Public Issues

Resolved, That the AFT urge all locals to instruct their members regarding positions taken in this convention; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT advise the appropriate Congressional committees and administrative officers of action taken in this convention.

Poll Tax

WHEREAS, The AFT is distressed that several states of the United States still require payment of a poll tax for the privilege of voting in all elections; and

WHEREAS, Such a practice is undemocratic and un-American; and

WHEREAS, The consequent restriction of the number of voters hinders the democratic process; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled respectfully urge the Congress of the United States, during the next session of Congress, regular or special, to prohibit states or subdivisions thereof from requiring the payment of a poll tax or any other financial consideration for the privilege of voting in federal elections.

Federal Rent Control

WHEREAS, All the available evidence indicates that rents would increase as much as or more than the prices of food if it were not for the continued existence of rent controls; and

WHEREAS, There is no indication that sufficient new housing will be completed by the spring of 1948 to restore a normal balance of forces in the market; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support the extension of federal rent controls to March 1, 1950.

Extension of Social Security

Resolved, That the AFT support legislation for the extension of social security to those groups not now covered, with the proviso that teachers and other public employees under relatively adequate pension systems be excluded from the mandatory provisions of this act.



COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Supporting UNESCO

WHEREAS, The AFT shares with all teachers the conviction that the future peace of the world depends upon mutual understanding by neighbors of their neighbors' culture; and

WHEREAS, UNESCO has been created to initiate, stimulate, facilitate, and coordinate such understanding by every means, including exchange of students and teachers between members of the United Nations; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled endorse and pledge its support to UNESCO's program of international cooperation; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT establish a sub-committee of the international relations committee to formulate a program of implementation throughout the schools of our country, so that the AFT may make its contribution to UNESCO's effort for the increase of men's knowledge of themselves, their world, and each other, with special emphasis upon

AFT Representative Urges Sound Information On UNESCO

The U.S. Commission for UNESCO met in Chicago Sept. 11-13 to formulate suggestions to be transmitted to the UNESCO General Conference to be held in Mexico City in November. At this Chicago meeting, Selma Borchardt, AFT's representative on the Commission, urged that teachers' institutes be held throughout the country to give teachers a thorough knowledge of UN, its structure and procedures, and its related agencies, including UNESCO.

"We share the enthusiasm and strong convictions of which others have spoken here, but we want action to implement our enthusiasm, and knowledge upon which to build our convictions," she said. There was strong approval of our representative's plea for institutes "to give teachers knowledge of the subject rather than vague enthusiasm for a good purpose."

student and teacher exchange; and be it further

Resolved, That in order to make it possible for the classroom teacher to contribute to the success of UNESCO, the AFT urge that a classroom teacher be appointed as a delegate to all UNESCO conferences, including the forthcoming general conference at Mexico City.

Aid to Britain

WHEREAS, The social and economic interests of the United States are gravely affected by the economic instability of England; and

WHEREAS, The present British Labor Government is making a magnificent effort to preserve the economic security of England in the face of tremendous difficulties; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support any steps that the United States Government may take to assist the British people at this time of crisis.

Immigration Legislation For Displaced Persons

WHEREAS, The plight of the displaced persons in Europe today represents an urgent claim upon the conscience of the world, and a threat to the peace and security of mankind; and

WHEREAS, Many of these displaced persons are unable to return to the country of their origin because of unfavorable political conditions; and

WHEREAS, Wartime conditions have reduced normal immigration to the United States by 90 per cent, and these quotas cannot be filled under the present law; and

WHEREAS, The United States cannot ask other nations to accept displaced persons without itself accepting such responsibility; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled endorse the stand of the AFL that we must admit our share of these victims of persecution under temporary emergency legislation; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT support the Stratton Bill or a similar immigration law.

Immigration to Palestine

WHEREAS, The plight of the Jewish displaced persons in Europe today represents an urgent claim on the conscience of the world; and

WHEREAS, America, through both the Democratic and the Republican

party planks, has supported free immigration to Palestine; and

WHEREAS, President Truman and President Green of the AFL have supported Jewish aspirations to enter Palestine; and

WHEREAS, The British Labor Party during its election campaign pledged itself to support free Jewish immigration to Palestine; and

WHEREAS, The United States and Great Britain were both signatories supporting the mandate which provided for a Jewish homeland in Palestine; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled pledge its support for free immigration of persons to Palestine; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT send a telegram expressing its support of the policy of free Jewish immigration to Palestine to President Truman, and a cablegram of similar import to Prime Minister Attlee of England.

Immigration of Displaced Persons to Pan America

WHEREAS, The plight of displaced persons deserves the consideration of all nations; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT urge that the United States open its doors to displaced persons and ask the Pan-American nations to do the same.

Support of Democratic Labor Unions Abroad

Democratic education is a major means to stop the spread of reaction, whether such reaction be Fascism, Communism, or any other form of totalitarianism.

It therefore becomes very urgent for all the democratic institutions in the world to unite in a common effort to aid those educational forces in Europe, Asia, and in Latin America, which are working for the establishment and extension of those principles and values which make for freedom and democracy. To this end, we urge the AFT to:

1. Cooperate fully with the International Department of the AFL headed by Matthew Woll. This department is trying to reestablish a free trade union movement in Europe and Asia.

2. Establish a permanent AFT Committee on International Relations to plan and execute a vigorous campaign of aid to free teacher union movements in Europe and Asia.

3. Call upon each local to estab-

lish during the school year of 1947-48 a committee to give to foreign teacher unions aid such as teaching materials, books, clothing, food, providing funds to make possible visiting teachers, etc.

Strengthening UN

Resolved, That the AFT in national convention strongly urge the appropriate officials of our government to recognize their responsibility in seeing that the United Nations be strengthened so that it becomes the most effective instrument for the solution of international problems which tend to endanger the peace; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, and United Nations General Secretary Trygve Lie.

Aid to Children Abroad

WHEREAS, The plight of the children as innocent sufferers from the catastrophes of war is a matter of grave concern to America; and

WHEREAS, These children represent the hope for a democratic world; and

WHEREAS, Starvation and economic insecurity are the weapons with which totalitarian systems are established; and

WHEREAS, The immediate needs of these children are food, clothing, textbooks, and school materials; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT and its locals establish a fund to help meet those needs.

Undemocratic Policies of Peron Government

WHEREAS, Argentina is under totalitarian control and the free labor movement has therefore been destroyed; and

WHEREAS, The teachers have no academic freedom and are personally persecuted; and

WHEREAS, The AFL committee sent to Argentina to study the labor situation has published a complete report upon the deplorable conditions in that country; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT urge its affiliated locals to read the report of the AFL committee; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled condemn the undemocratic policies of the Peron government and seek to establish communication with those teachers who are struggling to uphold democratic ideals in Argentina and assure them of the moral and material support of the AFT.

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CHILD CARE

Mental Hygiene Departments in the Public Schools

WHEREAS, It can be demonstrated that there is an urgent need for a positive program to prevent the human waste caused by warped personalities which become the juvenile delinquents, criminal and insane; and

WHEREAS, The public schools handle the great majority of the children of the nation; and

WHEREAS, Many of the problems which demand segregation of adults could have been dissipated by expert treatment in their early stages; and

WHEREAS, Many of the difficulties which develop into major difficulties can be detected and treated in children; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT recommend that locals investigate the possibility of setting up Mental Hygiene Departments in their school systems; that they investigate the

possibility of setting up these departments under the supervision of competent psychiatrists with a corps of psychiatric social workers and psychologists adequate to help work out the problems which confront the children in the public schools and to:

a.) interview the parents of all children entering the schools to obtain basic and necessary information pertaining to the home and the child

b.) keep records which are open to the teachers

c.) continue to work with all the children to achieve better adjustments to school, home and community

d.) hold frequent conferences with teachers to promote better understanding of the basic needs of the community.

Instruction in Family Living

WHEREAS, The ever present prob-

lem of juvenile delinquency and the high incidence of venereal disease among our troops abroad have been matters of concern to all citizens and especially to us as educators; and

WHEREAS, We recognize that while these problems are not ours alone, we also recognize that for their solution, the public schools, that come in constant contact with a far greater proportion of our young population than any other agency, must play a responsible part; therefore be it

Resolved, That courses of instruction in family living aiming toward the stabilization of the home and the strengthening of family relationships be instituted in our public schools; and be it further

Resolved, That teachers assigned to give this instruction be especially chosen, trained adequately, and carefully supervised.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Class Load

WHEREAS, The AFT is on record for lowering the class load to twenty-five; and

WHEREAS, The class load per teacher throughout the country is still high; and

WHEREAS, The present class load in most of the nation's schools is not conducive to adequate education of American youth; and

WHEREAS, The oversize class load is a reason for the continuing teacher shortage; and

WHEREAS, The widespread practice of publicizing mathematical ratios instead of the actual class size misleads the public and allows for a continuation of oversized classes; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the AFT condemn this misrepresentation of class size and reiterate its stand for a maximum class size of 25.

Collective Bargaining

WHEREAS, The essence of the spirit of the AFT is democracy—democracy in education; and

WHEREAS, The process known as collective bargaining by means of which employer and employee dis-

cuss and arrive at a harmonized program of action is the embodiment of the democratic process and spirit; and

WHEREAS, This process of discussion (known as collective bargaining) can be applied to the educational field both in the field of wages and working conditions, and in the field of professional problems; and

WHEREAS, Collective bargaining is slow in developing in the teacher labor movement; therefore be it

Resolved, That the national office of the AFT make every effort to assist its locals to obtain signed agreements with Boards of Education covering wages and working conditions; and be it further

Resolved, That the national office of the AFT likewise expend its efforts to obtain a voice for teachers in the formulating of educational policy and the administering of the educational program through the process of collective bargaining; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT assume definite responsibility in assisting locals in preparing its members for democratic participation by:

a.) featuring in the magazine

achievements of its locals in respect to collective bargaining;

b.) keeping on file, in the national office, copies of contracts and shop and school stewards' manuals;

c.) encouraging schools offering labor education to emphasize the training of school stewards;

d.) furnishing negotiators to assist locals in the process of collective bargaining.

Definition of a School Day

WHEREAS, Teaching is one of the few professions which require overtime work without additional pay; and

WHEREAS, The assignment of overtime duties is sometimes a punitive or disciplinary device employed by administration; and

WHEREAS, Overtime assignments are in many instances not uniformly or equitably distributed; and

WHEREAS, Some locals have secured a defined school day and overtime pay; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention urge action by locals to secure the definition of a school day and fair and equitable pay for all overtime work in excess of the limits of the defined school day.

Sick Leave

WHEREAS, Many school systems do not have adequate sick leave provisions with pay for teachers; and

WHEREAS, Adequate sick leave contributes to preservation of health for teachers and pupils; and

WHEREAS, Teachers are leaving the profession and young people are shunning it because of its great physical demand; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT go on record for adequate sick leave with pay for teachers; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT publicize data on sick leave for teachers.

Substitute Teachers

WHEREAS, Many school systems, in spite of teacher shortage, have refused to fill vacancies with regular appointments of fully-qualified teachers who have been kept on as "substitutes," thus denying them standard pay, security of employment, sick leave benefits, holiday pay, and professional status; and

WHEREAS, These qualified teachers are called upon to assume the responsibilities of regularly employed teachers; and

WHEREAS, Valuable teaching personnel is lost to the profession, and adequate instruction is lost to the children, by the failure to make these regular appointments; therefore be it

Resolved, That the locals of the AFT immediately request their Boards of Education to fill vacancies by regular appointment of these qualified teachers.

TAXATION

Because the full report made by the convention committee on taxation should be available to all AFT members, and because lack of space makes it impossible to print the entire report in this issue, we are including in the October issue only the convention action on the resolutions which dealt with taxation. In the November issue we shall publish the entire report of the committee.

Repeal of Regressive Taxes in New York State

WHEREAS, Members of the New York State Legislature enacted a program of regressive taxation instead of relying upon the time-tested method of state aid to finance teacher salary increases; and

WHEREAS, The Dewey tax proposals empower localities to raise the money needed to finance salary increases as well as the indefensible and unworkable promotional increments, by sales taxes, by taxes on theatre and movie admission, and on restaurant meals in excess of one dollar—all direct taxes which bear with undue weight upon those least able to pay and hence violate the sound tax principle of "ability to pay"; and

WHEREAS, These regressive taxes are not only based upon the false assumption that localities have equal ability to finance salary increases by levying these taxes, but also because they violate the principle of equal educational opportunity for all children, thus setting the educational clock back almost a century; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT urge Governor Dewey to call a special session of the state legislature to repeal these regressive taxes not only because they tend to rouse unjustified antagonism toward education for which those taxes are levied, but also because they violate the long-established principle of equalization of educational opportunity, and because counties have refused to levy them, thus making for unstable educational budgets and possible educational chaos.

Support for Progressive Systems of Taxation

WHEREAS, The AFT is an organic part of the organized labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Education can best function in a socially progressive community; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT support action to secure progressive systems of taxation embodying the principle of ability to pay.



COMMITTEE ON WORKING CONDITIONS

ORGANIZATION

Voluntary Contributions for AFT Organization

WHEREAS, It is impossible for teachers carrying a full school program to devote the time and energy necessary to widen the influence of the AFT and to give guidance to its locals to the extent that this important work must be done; and

WHEREAS, On numerous occasions necessary appropriate representatives or assistance have not been forthcoming or available from the AFT to protect the best interests of education and to the members of the AFT at the state legislature and at important hearings and conferences dealing with education; and

WHEREAS, There exists an immediate need for full-time paid teacher organizers; therefore be it

Resolved, That each local be asked through the national office to contribute one dollar per member as an emergency fund to supplement the sum expended by the regular organization program and that this voluntary contribution become due and payable on the first day of January 1948 at the national office; and be it further

Resolved, That these representatives be assigned to the different areas in the nation on a regional basis as determined by the national office.

Subsidies for Organization

WHEREAS, The subsidy which the AFT has paid to state federations to promote organization has proved effective; and

WHEREAS, Teachers in service are in many cases more successful in organizing teachers than strangers sent as organizers; and

WHEREAS, The organizational activities of teachers increase the revenue of the AFT; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT continue to subsidize the organizational activities of state federations on the basis established in the 1946 convention; and be it further

Resolved, That payment for effective services of members as well as payment for incidental expenses be recognized as proper use of the subsidy, and that payments for such be made on approval of the vice-president; and be it further

Resolved, That where five locals do not exist to form a state federation, such local or locals as do exist shall present to the area vice-president for his approval a plan for organization of locals and disbursement of funds in an amount not to exceed the maximum allotted to state federations.

Accelerating Organization Of New Locals

WHEREAS, The organization of new locals should be further accelerated; and

WHEREAS, The present plan of organization through state federations should be supplemented; therefore be it

Resolved, That where there is no state federation of teachers, the principles of the following plan be approved:

1. That the national office secure immediately a list of addresses of central labor bodies from the AFL and/or its affiliates and furnish the proper addresses to the respective area vice-presidents.

2. That immediate steps be taken to organize teachers' locals in those cities and towns not already organized.

3. That every effort be made to establish on local and state levels working programs with the respective local labor bodies and the respective state federations of labor.

4. That key members of AFT locals within reasonable distances from new centers be selected and empowered to push organization and that their expenses be allowed the same as for state federations.

State Organizations

WHEREAS, Many locals in the AFT are in need of assistance and guidance in negotiations with their employers; and

WHEREAS, Some states are in need of extensive organization work; and

WHEREAS, The personnel of the national organization would have to be increased to carry out adequately such additional work; therefore be it

Resolved, That it be a policy of the national organization to underwrite full-time state or regional executive secretaries selected by the states or regions to assist their locals with negotiations, union procedure, organization of new locals, and any other activities largely of state or regional interest, provided such programs be approved by the Executive Council.



COMMITTEE ON
ORGANIZATION

Appeal for Financial Aid For Organizing

Resolved, That the convention recommend that the Executive Council draft the proper documented appeal for a large organizational fund to be raised from the friendly international unions of the AFL.

Committee Recommendations

Three recommendations presented by the committee on organization were adopted by the convention:

1. That if the per capita income of the AFT continues to show the same

steady increase as in the past fiscal year, the Executive Council budget no less than was actually expended for organization purposes during the past year and be urged to expend upwards of at least fifty per cent more than that amount.

2. That the Executive Council, if faced with a choice of implementing one type of organizational program rather than another, because of financial limitation, continue the subsidization of state federations as the first and most effective agency of organizational activity. In those states where state federations do not exist, it is understood in this recommendation that the Executive Council would determine a plan for allotting

organizational funds to the area vice-presidents and/or key locals in the respective areas for the purpose of getting sufficient locals to organize additional state federations during the coming year.

3. That the Executive Council expend no funds directly for regional organizers unless funds are available over and above those needed for effective use in state federations, and that such funds be expended for field service representatives who not only carry on direct organizational activities but will be able to advise and assist locals in any section of the country on matters which pertain to all aspects of local and state programs, legislation, public relations, negotiations, working conditions, etc.

PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

The report of the committee on publicity and public relations, which received the approval of the convention, is as follows:

The committee recognized the following areas for discussion of the topic assigned to it: publicity on the local level, publicity on the national level, and the *AMERICAN TEACHER*.

I. Publicity on the local level—This includes methods for reaching the local membership and for securing a favorable local press for union activities. It also includes methods for building good public relations through what can be called "public service" programs of the union. In this area the committee makes the following recommendations.

1. That the Executive Council assign to the proper person the responsibility for compiling and editing the many excellent reports of previous convention committees on publicity, for distribution as early in this year as possible to every local for their guidance in building their own programs. The committee feels that many of the suggestions which it might make to the delegates here have been made before and that there is little point in re-plowing the same ground annually.

2. That the specific suggestions made each year by the convention committee should be prepared for distribution to each local immediately after the convention in order to aid locals in setting up their own publicity plans for the year. The committee feels this to be particularly important in view of the fact that frequently the report which it pre-

pares is not presented to the delegates but is left in the hands of the Executive Council and filed in the national office, thus negating the purpose of the committee's work.

3. That . . . experienced members in the locals be delegated the task of preparing handbooks for distribution to the locals, giving specific advice on such topics as how to use the radio in local situations, how to secure and use movies and other visual materials, how to utilize community resources for building public support for the union and the like. (Mr. Kuenzli's leaflet on *Publicity and Press Releases* is an example.) The committee recommends that at least the handbook on the use of the radio be prepared and distributed as early this year as possible. . . .

4. Since the public is frequently completely in the dark concerning the philosophy, procedures, and actions of local school boards and since public understanding of these matters is fundamental to a good public relations program for the union, the committee makes the following recommendation:

Because Boards of Education transact public business and distribute public funds, all their meetings should be publicly announced or otherwise regularly scheduled and should be open to the public, and representatives of civic groups should be encouraged by the teachers' union local to attend them.

All locals should of course have representation at these meetings in the public interest and their own. Where local boards prohibit or avoid

such representation, locals should take legal recourse if necessary to insure the democratic process and protect their rights.

II. Publicity on the national level—[The report stressed the need of increasing the publicity and public relations facilities of the national office.]

The committee urges that one of the most immediately needed pieces of national publicity is a history of the American Federation of Teachers, in brief form for distribution through locals; in expanded, perhaps book form, as an important contribution to the literature of the labor movement.

III. The "American Teacher"—The committee recommends to the delegates that each local provide individual subscriptions for the *AMERICAN TEACHER* for every member of the local school board, the superintendent, and key persons in the community as part of both the local and national public relations program.

The committee concurs in the general purport of the resolution [pertaining to the Taft-Hartley Bill] but recommends that since the proposed action involves matters of tactics and strategy, the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for a determination of the over-all policy in cooperation with the AFL.

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EDUCATION BY NEW MEDIA

The following recommendations made by the committee on education by new media were adopted:

To the standing committee on education by new media:

1. That the standing committee not only arrange for an exhibit of audio-visual materials, techniques, literature, etc. (including radio), of interest to teachers of varied grade levels and subject areas, but also insist that this project be carried out at the next national convention in 1948. The committee suggests that the "host" city be responsible for the actual set-up of such an exhibit.

2. That the standing committee assist locals asking for information on setting up and carrying out programs involving the use of new media.

To the Executive Council of the AFT:

1. That the standing committee be given the authority to arrange for an exhibit at the next national convention. It is suggested that the "host" city be held responsible for

the actual production of this exhibit.

2. That some space be allotted in each issue of the *AMERICAN TEACHER* for articles and information in this field.

3. That the AFT Council make arrangements for a central file of materials, etc., in this field in the research department of the national office—this material to be available for the use of all locals.

4. That the Executive Council do all in its power to urge larger appropriations in local communities to provide audio-visual materials for schools.

* * *

The committee wishes to go on record as endorsing the recommendations made by the 1946 committee on education by new media.

The committee would like to feel that as a result of this year's meetings there will be an increased interest in the field of audio-visual education on the part of the standing committee on education by new media and the Executive Council of the AFT.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

The following recommendations, presented by the vocational education committee, were adopted by the convention:

1. That the AFT, in cooperation with the AFL, formulate a sound, far-reaching program for the reorganization and reorientation of the program for vocational education in the United States.

2. That the AFT appoint a committee of at least five persons qualified to help formulate such a program and inform the AFL of the earnest desire of the AFT to have this committee work with the AFL standing committee on education and the AFL director of research in formulating and developing this program.

3. That the AFT, in consultation with the special committee authorized above, gather, compile, and disseminate specific data on actual practices in vocational education throughout the United States.

4. That vocational and technical teachers who have satisfied the technical and educational qualifications for certification be considered as having qualifications equivalent to a bachelor's degree in determining salaries.

5. That trade experience over and above the requirements for certifica-

tion shall be recognized and applied in the same manner as teaching experience for determining salaries.

6. That assignments and the working day of academic and vocational school teachers be equalized under the administrative rules adopted relative to the Smith-Hughes Act.

LABOR UNITY

WHEREAS, It is commonly recognized that in unity there is strength; and

WHEREAS, The forces opposing labor are, at this time, closely united and determined in their efforts to undermine the cause of the labor movement; and

WHEREAS, Certain forces in Congress and state legislatures today are carrying out the dictates of anti-labor forces; and

WHEREAS, Recent actions by both the national Congress and the Supreme Court have nullified historical gains made by the American labor movement over the course of many years; and

WHEREAS, The division of labor into two large organizations has aided the anti-labor drive; and

CHANGES IN CHICAGO'S SCHOOLS

WHEREAS, A new Board of Education in the city of Chicago under new leadership has shown its willingness to cooperate with teachers and civic groups in solving the grave problems which have arisen in the public schools of this city; and

WHEREAS, They have emphasized in their discussions and decisions the primary functions of the schools as an instrument of education in a democracy, rather than an avenue for factional political perquisites; and

WHEREAS, They have appointed a qualified superintendent of schools; and

WHEREAS, They have cooperated actively with the Chicago Teachers Union in securing legislation extending that superintendent's power over the entire system, not limiting such power to merely a section of it; and

WHEREAS, They have adopted the single salary schedule proposed by the Chicago Teachers Union and have introduced and pushed actively legislation to provide funds for full payment of the schedule; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled at the city of Boston, on August 18-22, 1947, commend the Board of Education of Chicago for these acts and attitudes; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT locally and nationally offer its hearty cooperation in bringing about many further changes needed to increase the educational opportunities of the children of Chicago.

WHEREAS, The merger of the AFL and the CIO would prove of inestimable value to all labor and the country generally; and

WHEREAS, The AFL has called upon the CIO to discuss organic unity; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT in convention assembled give full support to the efforts to unify the AFL and the CIO; and be it further

Resolved, That the AFT urge William Green and the Executive Council of the AFL to continue their efforts not only toward united action in resistance to the anti-labor drive, but also toward permanent organic unity with the CIO and other independent unions at the earliest possible time.

RESTRICTIONS ON TEACHERS' RIGHTS

WHEREAS, Governor Thomas E. Dewey, by inducing the legislature to pass the Condon-Wadlin Bill, which transforms teachers and public employees into second-rate citizens by denying them not only the right to withhold their labor for redress of legitimate grievances, but even the establishment of machinery to redress grievances; therefore be it

Resolved, That the AFT go on record as favoring the repeal of this and similar laws, and as being unalterably opposed to any other legislation which strikes at labor's use of legitimate weapons to maintain its rights or its freedom.

IMPLEMENTATION OF CONVENTION DECISIONS

WHEREAS, Each year the AFT convention adopts a number of resolutions; and

WHEREAS, These resolutions tend to unify the policy of the AFT; and

WHEREAS, The effectiveness of numerous resolutions depends upon the extent to which locals undertake the expressed activity of the resolutions; therefore be it

Resolved, That the national office through its own staff set up a procedure to accomplish the following ends:

1) To direct activity of locals to carry out the objective of the resolutions on a local level.

2) To definitely check progress from time to time.

3) To act as a clearing house to publicize accomplishments of locals and thus give aid to others contemplating such activity.

A.F.T. POLICY ON TEACHERS' STRIKES

WHEREAS, At the present time, it cannot be said that even one state among the 48 states in the nation makes adequate provisions for the negotiation of issues involved in teacher-employer relationships; and

WHEREAS, Refusal of school authorities to negotiate or to establish adequate machinery to adjust grievances over the years has resulted in a steady lowering of morale among teachers; and

WHEREAS, Intolerable conditions have forced teachers in some instances to take strike action; therefore be it

Resolved, That despite the existence of these deplorable conditions we deem it wise that the American Federation of Teachers maintain a no-strike policy; and be it further

Resolved, That its locals adopt methods of negotiation conformable to local needs and laws; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Federation of Teachers support locals to the fullest extent in their efforts to secure adequate salaries and satisfactory working conditions or the redress of legitimate grievances.

REPORTS BY A.F.T. VICE-PRESIDENTS

WHEREAS, The New Jersey State Federation of Teachers is desirous of effecting a more extensive participation of the general membership in the formulation of policy of the AFT and a clearer view of the activities of the officers of the AFT; therefore be it

Resolved, That the vice-presidents shall appear at the respective state conventions or conferences of the regions which they represent and report their activities.

Resolved, By the AFT in convention assembled, that the vice-presidents shall be required to make a report in writing semi-annually, to the locals of the region which each represents. Such report shall contain a statement of their activities with respect to regional and national matters and of their proposed course of action on regional and national issues during the coming year. Such report shall be placed on the agenda of the meetings of the locals and actions taken thereon shall be reported to the vice-president.

* * * *



COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

TENURE

The convention committee on tenure presented the following statement, which was accepted by the convention:

"The committee believes that action of those organizations and individuals who are working to weaken teacher tenure by revision or revocation of present statutes or by the enactment of other statutes which would reduce the effectiveness of present tenure laws indirectly should be condemned by this organization.

"The committee warns this convention that it dare not feel any great satisfaction with the present status of teacher tenure laws. Teacher tenure laws exist in less than one-half of the states. Where found, present tenure laws do not necessarily protect all teachers within the state, and are often permissive rather than mandatory to local school districts. Further, most of the present teacher tenure laws are of a policy-stating type and are revocable at any time by action of the state legislative body.

"The committee believes that without effective teacher tenure in the states, continued rapid growth of this organization, particularly in smaller school districts, is doubtful; that satisfactory salary schedules without the existence of tenure laws are a snare and a delusion; that the effectiveness of teacher participation in educational and community leadership is limited because of the non-existence of tenure protection."

The following recommendations, presented by the convention committee and amended by action of the convention, were adopted:

1. That the present Model Tenure Bill of the AFT be restudied and revised in the light of experience with tenure in the various states and of the court decisions that affect teacher tenure.

2. That the AFT publicize by various means, for the information of teachers and the general public, the purpose, extent, weaknesses, and limitations of present tenure laws.

3. That the AFT urge its locals to work for tenure laws which specifically and unequivocally state that the arrangement is a *contract*, since otherwise subsequent legislation may modify or nullify the tenure law. [The courts have ruled in several cases that a tenure law cannot be interpreted to give teachers the protection of *contractual* tenure by the process of implying it.]

4. That the AFT endeavor to find some device to give greater security to teachers in smaller communities. [It was pointed out that this purpose can be accomplished by the passage of state tenure laws which are made applicable to *all* teachers within the state.]

5. That the AFT continue to support the principle that all teachers be guaranteed the right of either public or private hearing, if they so desire, in the event of their dismissal or, if they are employed on an annual basis, in the event that their contracts are not renewed.

6. That the AFT research director obtain, from all state federations and, where state federations do not exist, from locals in the remaining states, copies of briefs and pleadings in litigation involving teacher tenure or a detailed statement of every case of

dismissal of teachers, including reasons as determined by the AFT local as well as reasons given publicly.

7. That the AFT locals be responsible for sending to the national office for its files copies of present tenure laws. If a number of copies are sent, the national office will be saved the time and expense of reproducing them.

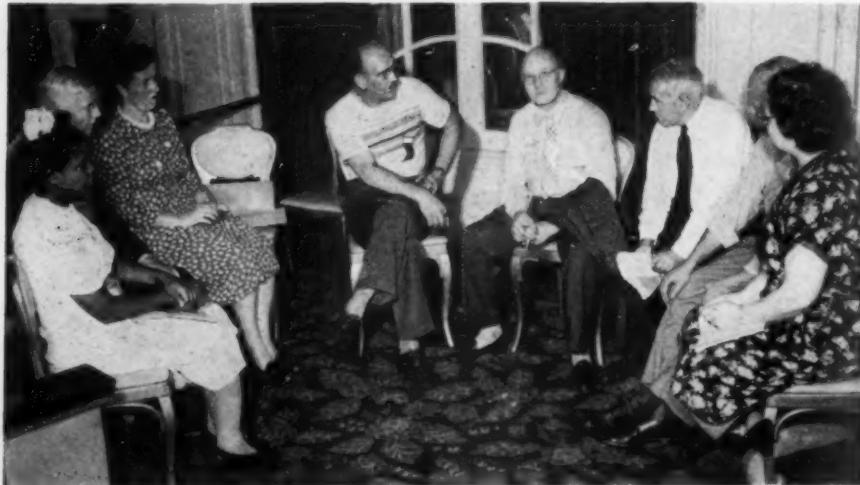
PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT

The following report of the committee on pensions and retirement was accepted by the convention:

"Since no resolutions or recommendations were submitted to the committee on pensions and retirement, the committee resolved itself into an informal discussion group. From these discussions it was apparent that many of our teacher pension systems are woefully inadequate and antiquated, and that much action on the part of organized teachers is necessary.

"The discussions also indicated that reasonably adequate teacher pension systems have been established recently in a number of cities and states, largely through the activity and leadership of local teacher unions or state federations. One case in point is the new retirement system that has been established in the state of Washington, under which a teacher with 30 years of service may retire on a retirement allowance of as much as \$175 or more a month, \$100 of it an outright grant by the state and the rest of it the individual's annuity.

"Because of the need for urgent and immediate activity toward the revision of pension systems, the national office should be enabled to offer local unions and state federations more assistance than it has been able to give in the past. There-



COMMITTEE ON TENURE

fore the committee on pensions and retirement renews the recommendation of last year that there should be a continuing committee on pensions to act in conjunction with the AFT national office as a clearing house for the benefit of all locals desiring information and help in the matter of pensions.

"Furthermore, the committee recommends that the compiling of information on state and city teacher pension systems be made one of the first important projects to be undertaken by the AFT director of research.

"The committee also urges that information on pensions be made available from time to time through the columns of the *AMERICAN TEACHER*."

WORKERS AND ADULT EDUCATION

The following report was submitted by the committee on workers' and adult education and was adopted by the convention:

"The labor movement today must be a spearhead in the fight against economic chaos and political reaction, and towards interracial and international unity. To meet this challenge every member of the labor movement needs to gain understanding and skill—understanding of the complex world we live in, and skill in making our beliefs effective. Members of the AFT must be alert to ways in which they can cooperate with other unions in carrying on education programs that will help union members, including themselves, in carrying these responsibilities.

"The committee therefore recommends:

"1. That members of the AFT keep aware of, and take part in, the labor education programs carried on in their own communities—local union programs, conferences, institutes, labor schools, etc.—giving their support and encouragement to the further development of such projects and to national and regional agencies working in the field.

"2. That the AFT continue its affiliation and cooperation with the Workers Education Bureau, the educational arm of the AFL, and its participation in the AFT Workshop at the Wisconsin School for Workers.

"3. That the AFT work for the reestablishment of the 'pilot' labor education program within the Division of Labor Standards of the Department of Labor, a Labor Education Extension program, as advocated by all branches of the labor movement."

CHAIRMEN OF CONVENTION COMMITTEES

ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Ann Maloney, Gary, Ind.

CHILD CARE

Mary Wheeler, West Suburbs, Ill.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Helen Taggart, Chicago, Ill.

CREDENTIALS

Ann Maloney, Gary, Ind.

DEMOCRATIC HUMAN RELATIONS

Layle Lane, New York, N. Y.

EDUCATION BY NEW MEDIA

Gerald Laumann, Minneapolis, Minn.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES

Mary McNelis, Butte, Mont.

ELECTIONS

E. H. Rueter, Cleveland, Ohio.

INSURANCE AND CREDIT UNIONS

Frank Henke, Chicago, Ill.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Dorothy DeLoid, New Bedford, Mass.

LEGISLATION

Mary Herrick, Chicago, Ill.

OFFICERS' REPORTS

Dorothy Floyd, Atlanta, Ga.

ORGANIZATION

Herrick Roth, Denver, Colo.

PENSIONS AND RETIREMENT

James Fitzpatrick, Milwaukee, Wisc.

PUBLICITY AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

Florence Sweeney, Detroit, Mich.

PUBLICITY (Convention)

William Woolfson, New York, N. Y.

RESOLUTIONS

Frances Comfort, Detroit, Mich.

SCHOOL SECRETARIES

Winnifred Higgins, Chicago, Ill.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

Raymond Cook, Chicago, Ill.

STATE FEDERATIONS

George Cavender, Denver, Colo.

TAXATION AND SCHOOL FINANCE

Abraham Lefkowitz, New York, N.Y.

VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

George Hammersmith, Toledo, Ohio.

WORKERS AND ADULT EDUCATION

Orlie Pell, New York, N. Y.

WORKING CONDITIONS

Margaret Root, Philadelphia, Pa.

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